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The Shape of Things

THIS WEEK AS THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY slowly ground its way toward a halt, it was forced to take action on two issues which some of its members would have been pleased to avoid. One was Israel's application for membership in the United Nations; the other, the proposal to lift the ban on full diplomatic relations with Franco Spain, discussed by Mr. Del Vayo on page 547. Underneath much diplomatic camouflage, both involved big-power efforts to maintain strategic positions in the cold war. On Israel the British had gladly availed themselves of Arab intransigence and Christian concern over the Holy Places to stall action on the Security Council's recommendation that the Jewish state be granted membership. But after Aubrey Eban's remarkable statement on May 5 before the Ad Hoc Committee, Australia offered a resolution, seconded by the United States, Canada, Haiti, Guatemala, Panama, and Uruguay, calling for Israel's immediate admission. As the week began, it looked as if this proposal would be adopted over the opposition of the Arabs, defeating Mr. Bevin's hope that Israel would be kept out until all the problems being discussed before the Conciliation Commission, sitting at Lausanne, had been settled. As long as its membership was held in abeyance, Israel would be at a disadvantage in the bargaining with the Arabs, despite their defeat in the battles of the past year.

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TWO OF THE CHIEF ISSUES RAISED BY THE states resisting Israel's early admission were the control of Jerusalem and the return of the Arab refugees. On this point Eban's speech was frank and reassuring. He insisted that both problems must be settled by negotiation under the auspices of the Conciliation Commission and that his government was therefore reluctant to adopt any fixed formula. But he told the committee that Israel's present preference was for an international regime for Jerusalem as a whole, "restricted functionally so as to be concerned only with the protection and control of Holy Places and not with any purely secular aspects of life and government." As for the refugees, he said Israel would consider any reasonable solution and had already obligated itself to pay compensation for lands abandoned by the Arabs. On the other hand, he

said most emphatically that the Arab states must not be allowed to evade responsibility in a situation which had occurred only as a result of their rejection of partition and their invasion of Palestine. Israel's acceptance by the United Nations at this session would add a final note of triumph to its first anniversary, celebrated on May 5 according to the Hebrew calendar, but falling on Friday of this week by Western, or Gregorian, calculations.

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AS THE DATE NEARS FOR THE MEETING OF the Foreign Ministers at Paris, speculation about Russia's probable course of action increases. A surprising number of observers expect Mr. Vishinsky to continue the conciliatory tactics used by Mr. Malik in his talks with Dr. Jessup. The idea behind these predictions is that Moscow now wants a settlement, even at the sacrifice of certain advantages already gained, in the belief that once peace is declared and the occupation armies withdrawn, the political penetration of Germany can proceed on a different basis. This theory may be well founded, but it seems to ignore a number of substantial obstacles. One is the tight integration of the Soviet zone into Russia's post-war economy; another is the political hazards Moscow would face if it agreed to return to Germany, as part of a general settlement, territory awarded Poland after the war. Mr. Vishinsky may want peace—with Germany and the West—enough to swallow the new western Federal Republic as the basis for a unified state, and to drop most of his claims for reparations; but he can less easily undo, at the demand of the Allies, accomplished facts in the eastern lands—nationalized industries, expropriated estates, transferred populations, and the whole apparatus of a partly achieved social revolution. Unless the Western Allies themselves are willing to make some unexpected concessions, the prospect of deadlock continues to be good.

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IN ANNOUNCING THE WILLINGNESS OF HIS rebel "government" to negotiate peace, Miltiades Porphyrogenis referred to the Athens regime as "the Monarcho-Fascists," but in other respects the offer was far too conciliatory to dismiss as propaganda. For the first time a

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guerrilla spokesman proposed to negotiate without demanding the prior withdrawal of the American mission and British troops. Going farther, Mr. Porphyrogenis, who is Minister of Justice in the paritsan regime, suggested that Greek Communists would not oppose the continuation of American aid, presumably under the Marshall Plan. Apart from the fact that there is nothing in the Greek military situation at the moment that calls for this about-face, the link between the Minister's proposal and East-West relations as a whole is made obvious by external aspects of the move. Dr. Vladimir Clementis, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, has urged Herbert V. Evatt to use his good offices in helping Porphyrogenis to get an American visa so that he might start negotiations at Lake Success. It need hardly be pointed out that a seasoned Communist in Dr. Clementis's position would no more dream of underwriting such a project without Russian sanction than of dropping a bomb on the Kremlin. But it is the guerrilla leader himself who adds the final proof that his feeler is part of the new Soviet policy of minimizing the cold war. "We are sincere in saying we want peace," he has announced, "and we want it because there will be peace in Berlin, too." Whatever light this throws on the motivations of the civil war up to now, it appears to bear out the thesis that the lifting of the Berlin siege has a broader purpose than the frustrating of a western German state, that at last the Russians are in earnest about easing tensions—at least in Europe.

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HOUSING EXPEDITER TIGHE E. WOODS HAS picked up the ball Congress fumbled and nonchalantly hurled it into right-center field, thus parlaying an error into a disaster. Last March, when Congress passed its half-hearted bill continuing rent controls, it allowed increases sufficient to bring landlords up to a "fair net operating income," although nobody on or off Capitol Hill knew what that might be. It was left to Mr. Woods to decide. Last week he came up with a formula so unsatisfactory from every point of view that landlords as well as tenants from coast to coast have asked for its immediate withdrawal. At the same time it is well worth noting that over 500,000 landlords filed applications for rent increases as soon as the new ruling had been announced. In an acute analysis in the New York *Post* Charles Abrams, an outstanding housing expert, has demonstrated that the formula is unfair "to tenants and to those landlords who deserve increases," while it grants them to the undeserving. Since increases go only to landlords whose costs bite into their gross income by 75 or 80 per cent, depending on the size of the property, it follows that "the worse the building is, the more the landlord may hike his rents," operating and maintenance expenses naturally being higher in a run-down building than in a new and more efficient one. The

depreciation allowance under the Woods formula, moreover, enables the owner of a slum dwelling to pad his expenses fantastically. Woods will permit landlords to add to their expense column the amount of depreciation last *reported* to federal-income-tax authorities, not the amount approved (years later) by the revenue authorities. As Mr. Abrams points out, nearly every landlord exaggerates his depreciation, and in the case of old buildings it is generally a "paper" expense anyway. The ruling, therefore, works in favor of most landlords and against most tenants, particularly the slum dweller, who can least afford a rent rise. With many others, we urge the Housing Expediter to start again from scratch.

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IN THE WEEK IN WHICH THE LOWER HOUSE of the California legislature defeated a measure to extend disability-insurance benefits, tabled a public-health-insurance bill, defeated a proposal to create a commission on race relations, and failed to reduce interest rates on small loans, it passed a bill legalizing "bookmaking," authorized school authorities to beat children, and gave favorable consideration to a bill which would make it unnecessary for legislators to report campaign contributions. Ordinarily a patient and tactful politician, Governor Earl Warren found this performance a bit too raw. Charging that the people were being "denied the right to be heard" in the legislature, he went on to say that he found the action of nine Republicans who had voted down in committee his proposal to create a commission on race relations both "surprising" and "shocking." On the same day that the Governor issued his rebuke to the legislature, the newspapers carried an interesting story from Sacramento under the headline "Fun in Hotel." It seems that 500 persons had gathered in a Sacramento hotel lobby to watch Senator Jack Tenney's secretary pay a bet to Arthur H. Samish, "the King of the Lobby." The pay-off consisted in the loser's running around the lobby thirty-three times clad in shorts with a hammer and sickle printed on his back. The performance was preceded by juggling and tumbling acts, and the spectators were given free balloons, whistles, and souvenir canes. California's first legislature is characterized in the history books as "the legislature of a thousand drinks." Recent performances in Sacramento show that in the last hundred years California has acquired little of that social responsibility whose absence Josiah Royce, a devoted native son, once found to be the state's most striking cultural characteristic.

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THE PURCHASE BY TWENTIETH-CENTURY-Fox of the film rights to Albert Maltz's new novel, "The Journey of Simon McKeever," was widely interpreted as reflecting a more liberal policy in the motion-picture industry and also as an indirect repudiation of its "anti-Communist" hiring policy. But hardly had the announce-

ment been released to the press than Twentieth-Century-Fox issued a curt statement to the effect that the film would not be produced. There can be little doubt that the company knew the story had been written by Maltz, one of the Hollywood Ten, and had every intention of producing it. Nor can there be much doubt that the production was canceled under pressure from the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, the organization that obligingly provided the "friendly witnesses" for the Thomas committee. The cancellation emphasizes the importance of a statement issued by the Authors' League at the time of the hearings. In the past, the statement says, censorship commonly operated only against a work produced and issued to the public, and only against one work at a time, with the author being afforded the opportunity of refuting the specific accusations in a court of law. But the new censorship runs not against the work but against the man. For the motion-picture industry has now made it painfully clear that the "anti-Communist hiring policy" applies not merely to the employment of certain writers but to the entire work of these writers, past, present, and future, regardless of content or subject matter. "The Journey of Simon McKeever" is a simple story of an old man, his troubles and problems. It is not a propaganda novel nor does it make explicit social or political points. By suppressing it the motion-picture industry confirms the charge made at the time of the Thomas committee hearings that their real purpose was to impose a censorship on the industry.

'Twas a Famous Victory

IT IS easy enough to understand President Truman's comment that the killing of the Wood labor bill was a victory for the Administration. Any defeat for the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition is in a negative way a victory for the Administration. But the net result of the triumph is that we are right back to the Taft-Hartley act, which labor confidently expected to wipe off the books four months ago. A few more victories like this and we shall be back to yellow-dog contracts.

Elsewhere in these pages, Thomas Sancton describes the fantastic twisting of political lines that occurred during the debate in the House. Here was the spectacle of labor's most implacable foes proposing softening amendments in order to win over the crucial middle bloc, while labor's friends bitterly opposed all such concessions. Way over on the left, Vito Marcantonio directed his fire, not at the champions of the Wood bill, but at the Administration forces for the concessions they were prepared to make in their own Lesinski bill in order to win over that same middle bloc. And for this service the fiery American Labor Party member received the

praises of such professional union-haters as Howard Smith, Earl Michener, and Joe Martin. Yet, in the end, it was Marcantonio whose shrewd tactical move got the Wood bill recommitted, thus giving Mr. Truman at least a breather.

In the course of this intricate maneuvering the liberal-labor lines sagged under the weight of bargaining and confusion. There was no unified strategy, and apparently no agreement on alternatives to outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley act. Nor was the confusion confined to Congressmen. Labor leaders themselves appeared to be totally unprepared for the rough-and-tumble fight that developed. Some were ready to go along with the Sims compromise bill worked out by Speaker Rayburn, others were for yielding this or that provision of the Lesinski bill, while still others held out for a ban on all further conciliation.

The Wood bill is now back in the House Education and Labor Committee, which will have to start all over again the process of framing a labor measure to replace Taft-Hartley. If the episode was a victory at all, it was such because it gave labor and the Administration another chance to learn what they should already have known—that complex legislation cannot be written on the floor of Congress. It is obvious that the present national legislature will no more accept outright repeal of Taft-Hartley than its predecessor would have done. Hence the problem for the Administration majority in the committee is to work out, earnestly and in good faith, a formula that the labor forces themselves can agree on and that can be argued on the floor with conviction and hope of success.

Basically, this means agreement on a device for settling strikes that result in national emergencies. The Taft-Hartley approach is to crack down on the union by injunction. Labor has so far produced no alternative, but some of its leaders are known to lean toward a strengthened form of government seizure. Such a plan would involve an "equal contribution" from management and labor toward overcoming the crisis, with the government empowered not only to fix wages during its period of ownership but also to fix the rate of profit. If the emergency is truly national, it may well be grave enough to warrant government action; but there is no reason why that action should be one-sided in its effect, why labor should be made to yield to the national welfare while management makes only a meaningless and temporary transfer of title.

A bill containing such a provision would surely encounter trouble on the floor, but it could rally the entire range of liberal-labor support, as proposals for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley act apparently cannot. And in the event of its defeat the country would at least be able to place the political responsibility where it belongs.

Let the Government Govern

THE Hoover Commission has once more emphasized the need for more businesslike management in government, and in doing so has focused attention on the executive branch. Without denying the need for reorganization to eliminate waste and clear the lines of authority, we should like to raise the question whether any business could be efficiently managed if its budget were controlled in the way that is customary in the government of the United States. And we should like to point out that the principal fault lies, not with the Executive, but with Congress.

It is a democratic principle that the legislature should hold the purse strings. But it makes a difference how those strings are manipulated. Consider for a moment the contrast in this respect between the way money is appropriated in Great Britain and the way it is appropriated in the United States.

Nobody would deny that the House of Commons is one of the most democratic agencies in the world. Elected by popular vote, it has complete control of the British Executive, and can even throw it out of office at any time. Not long ago Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented to Commons a budget specifying the requirements of the government and the necessary taxes for the coming year. This budget was the keystone of British economic planning. It was not popular, for it carried no tax reductions and specified some price increases. Nevertheless, the House passed it without modification, a few days after its presentation, and with only three negative votes. The Conservatives, who disliked it, abstained from voting instead of attempting to defeat it. In Britain the accepted principle is that the Executive is responsible and must be granted the powers and resources necessary to good administration as long as it is in office. If the people don't like the results, the remedy is to throw it out of office, not to whittle away its ability to govern.

How different is the procedure in the United States! The President, with the aid of a highly expert and able Budget Bureau, presents to Congress a carefully devised financial program. Every detail of this program is then combed over by subcommittees of Congressional appropriation committees, which add something here or trim off something there without the slightest attention to the efficiency of the government as a whole or major executive policies. Some bureaus escape from executive control by grace of Congressmen for whom they can do favors. The non-expert member of an appropriation subcommittee becomes for the time being a little dictator, expressing his likes and dislikes. The budget, which

has taken months to compile, takes more months to pass, and by the time it has become law it is likely to have been knocked into a cocked hat. No executive agency can lay out its forward program with any feeling of security or adopt intelligent employment policies; its chiefs spend a large part of their time trying to get the necessary money out of Congress.

The House of Representatives recently upset the military program of the President by its own views of strategy. The chairman of the Appropriations Committee thought we could win a two weeks' war on Russia by dropping atomic bombs on Russian cities, was reckless enough to say so, and saw to it that the air force won a battle in Congress that it had not so far been able to win in the executive branch. The committee then proceeded to atone for its act of military extravagance by cutting necessary services at key points in our economy. The Budget Bureau itself was denied desirable funds because of the ignorant judgment that we have "plenty of statisticians" in the government. The Council of Economic Advisers was refused a paltry \$40,000 and forced to reduce its staff, though maintaining economic stability is the basic essential for winning the cold war, not to speak of more fundamental objectives. The Atomic Energy Commission was allowed what it needed only in two activities which have direct military significance; its civilian development plans were trimmed. These are only small samples of gross mismanagement forced on our government—the greatest business organization in the world—by men who have neither executive responsibility nor expert knowledge, but who insist on demonstrations of irresponsible power.

What the Senate may do to the financial program of the Executive remains to be seen at this writing, but it is ten to one that it will not repair the damage. It wants simultaneously to balance the budget and avoid a tax increase; what happens to the needed activities of government seems to be a secondary consideration. It may be that those in Congress who expect a depression are correct. But if they are right, their policy should be to see to it that a deficit develops. If they are wrong, the budget should provide a surplus, as the President has planned. But does anybody suppose they will follow an intelligent compensatory fiscal policy? In this major aspect of government management Congress is almost certain to interfere as long as the conservative coalition has the votes.

We shall never get efficient government, either in minor matters or in broad policy, as long as Congress insists on petty interference with the Executive. While holding the purse strings, it ought not to tangle and fray them. No President, and no party which nominates him, can justly be held responsible for the results of his Administration unless he is allowed the means to carry out his program.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

A Roosevelt Hunts a Tiger

IN NEW YORK'S Twentieth Congressional District we are about to see what happens when a machine without a candidate meets a candidate without a machine. Normally the odds in this sort of contest favor the political organization, but not in this case. The machine here is Tammany Hall, torn into factions and under drumfire attack from a Mayor of its own party. The candidate it opposes bears the magic name of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Actually there are four contenders in this special election to fill the Congressional seat of the late Sol Bloom. The Republicans, who have had hardly more than a prayer in this district in the past twenty-five years, are nursing real hope that the dog-fight among the Democrats will open the way to the election of William H. McIntyre, a claims supervisor for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, a big-time legionnaire, and a founder of the Catholic War Veterans. The American Labor Party is going through the motions of a campaign for Dr. Annette Rubinstein, who ran rather dismally for the Assembly a few months ago. It has concentrated its fire on Roosevelt, giving rise to rumor that Marcantonio is paying off Tammany for the lackadaisical character of its campaign against him last fall. The official Democratic nominee is Justice Benjamin Shalleck, a pleasant man with a record of fidelity to the Hall, a reputation for philanthropic works, and the rank of Past Exalted Ruler of the Elks, New York Lodge No. 1. Denied the Democratic nomination by the Tammany county leaders, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., who regards himself as "a regular Democrat" now and forever, ironically makes his first appeal to the electorate as the candidate of the Liberals and the specially concocted Four Freedoms Party.

How this last circumstance came about has been made one of the prime issues between Roosevelt and Shalleck, largely for lack of more fundamental debating material, their views on national politics being all but identical. The Shalleck version is that young Roosevelt, thinking the Twentieth District a safe spot from which to launch a Democratic career, went to the Tammany leaders and sought their blessing; that the sachems, nobly resenting the intrusion of an "outsider," turned him down; and that only then did he evince a hostility toward the Hall and all its works.

Roosevelt's story, buttressed by considerable evidence, is that his name was originally proposed by Robert B. Blaikie, Democratic leader of the Seventh Assembly

District; that he had "never courted the job or Tammany Hall"; but that when Blaikie asked if he would accept, he agreed to make the race. The trouble lay in his sponsorship, Blaikie being an insurgent leader and a member of the ousted Sampson faction, which is considerably cleaner than the group now in power under the guidance of Hugo Rogers. According to Roosevelt, Rogers himself called on him at the Delmonico Hotel with the obvious purpose of sizing him up. When the candidate suggested that he would "follow in the footsteps of Sol Bloom," the Tammany leader is said to have remarked that Bloom would not have been renominated next year—"I'm not interested in statesmen; I'm interested in politicians." Those who know Rogers well believe him entirely capable of making just such a comment when irritated. And there is no doubt he was irritated at the idea of backing the candidate of Mr. Blaikie, who, in Roosevelt's words, had been "marked to be knocked off."

The whole question of whether Roosevelt originally invited, accepted, or merely counted on Tammany support is in itself monumentally unimportant. Every Democrat who ever ran in Manhattan, including Smith, Lehman, and Roosevelt *père*, ran with Tammany support. The important aspect of the Roosevelt-Shalleck contest, at least locally, is that Tammany has picked itself a showdown fight. If this normally safe district is lost to the county organization, heads will roll—foremost among them that of Hugo Rogers. The old-time Tammany will have suffered a mortal injury. Roosevelt is entirely justified in saying that his "victory will be a deathblow to the kind of leadership that now exists in the Democratic Party of New York County." This is what gives the election its significance, apart from the high probability that Roosevelt, with his background, personality, advisers, and purposes, would make a far more impressive addition to the New Deal ranks in Congress than Judge Shalleck, constrained as he is by loyalty to an organization that has not been at home in the Democratic Party since the first Roosevelt overhauled it seventeen years ago.

Shalleck enjoys a number of marked advantages in the race now drawing to a close on Manhattan's West Side. His chief asset is the Democratic Party line on the voting machines, which over the years has generally accounted for twice the Republican total. He is personally invulnerable, and his work for philanthropic and interracial good-will organizations should tend to offset the appeal of the Roosevelt name to Jewish voters. Involved in a possibly fatal struggle, Tammany has thrown a lot of energy into the campaign—and probably more than energy. The Roosevelt managers, in particular, have charged that the registration books are loaded with "floaters," brought into the district and signed in at the numerous hotels as residents. Finally, the fierce antagonism of the American Labor Party toward Roosevelt

should help Shalleck somewhat, whether or not there is a definite understanding between Marcantonio and Tammany, as the Liberal Party alleges.

Against these assets on the Shalleck side must be set the following weighty advantages accruing to Roosevelt:

1. With the exception of a few locals of a few unions, the labor population of the district is actively behind him, with both the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers systematically campaigning. The task of corralling the independent liberal vote has been undertaken by Americans for Democratic Action. (It must be admitted that this variegated support comes complete with headaches. The I. L. G. wants to run up as big a vote as possible on the Liberal Party line, for which the Amalgamated has no use whatever. As for Mr. Blaikie, his aspirations to come back as a leader of a renovated Tammany are not to be reconciled with letting the Twentieth District slip into the hands of independents.)

2. Blaikie's own clubhouses are capable of delivering some 28 per cent of the district's Democratic vote.

3. For all his philanthropic works, Shalleck is not well known to the public. The Irish in the southern part of the district, moreover, are less than spirited in their enthusiasm, and some are expected quietly to switch over to McIntyre.

4. Democratic leaders outside the county will say nothing publicly, but it is hardly a secret that some of them would welcome a defeat of the Tammany machine, which for years has been a millstone around the party's neck. Certainly this is true of upstate leaders, and almost as surely it includes local chiefs like Cashmore and Flynn. There is no doubt at all that national party leaders would be pleased to have Roosevelt force a housecleaning in the New York organization, which has been of slight value in Presidential elections since 1932.

5. Some 25,600 persons signed the petition to get Roosevelt on the ballot as the Four Freedoms' candidate. While thousands of these may fail to show up at the polls, the number is extraordinarily high, with only 25,000 votes considered enough to produce victory in a special election. The psychological value of this achievement is considerable.

Perhaps the best indication of what is expected is Mayor O'Dwyer's calculated insult to the Tammany chieftains, whose big money-raising dinner he spurned in favor of a minor function of the Fair Deal Democrats. The Mayor, as reliable a political weathervane as the city boasts, is not forfeiting his status as a "regular" to support Mr. Roosevelt, but neither is he behaving as though he thought the Tammany of Mr. Rogers would be something to reckon with next November. If the O'Dwyer hunch is sound, Franklin Roosevelt will have done the city a major service even before setting foot in the Capitol.

Del Vajo—Spain and Western Democracy

THE heated debate on Spain was far more interesting for its political implications than in its practical results. Unless during the next few days the pro-Franco forces succeed in transforming the sixteen abstentions into votes for the Brazilian resolution, its approval by the Political Committee will lead nowhere. Lacking the required two-thirds it must fail in the plenary session this week.

Then the situation in regard to Franco Spain will remain unchanged. Some powers with whom the decisions of the United Nations have no weight will send ambassadors to Madrid. Those which respect the decisions of the United Nations will refrain from using as a pretext to violate them the fact that in the Political Committee the Brazilian resolution was adopted.

But however slight its effect on Franco's relations with the United Nations, the debate will have one result which no American can afford to overlook: it will deprive the United States of all title to speak as the champion of democracy in international affairs. After playing the role it did in the debate on Spain, after proving how little principles count when expediency argues the other way, this great country has no better claim to democratic leadership than Brazil.

In trying to justify America's abstention, the spokesman of the delegation, Ray Atherton, proved so elusive and inconsistent in his arguments that it took little ingenuity to expose him as an ashamed but nevertheless effective supporter of the Brazilian resolution. The circumstances under which the discussion was conducted allowed for no third course: either you were counted for the Franco regime or you were counted against it, since an abstention was in reality an indirect vote for the resolution to permit the restoration of ambassadors to Madrid. It was only to be expected that the vulnerable moral position of the United States and its henchmen in Western Europe and Latin America would be used to the full by the various speakers from the Soviet camp.

In his second intervention on Saturday morning Mr. Gromyko made his best speech of the session. Delivered without a prepared text, it was brilliant as well as forceful. Its point was this: if the United States, as it claims, is not interested in Franco as a military ally, in the name of what masochistic impulse does it continue, month after month, in the hateful role of protector of its former enemy—of a dictator whom every decent American despises?

Previous speakers, among them Hoffmeister of Czechoslovakia, had referred to the telegram of the Nation Associates to President Truman, condemning the hesitations of the United States delegation and signed by many leaders of liberal and labor opinion. Time after time Gromyko asked Atherton: "What sort of Americans are you representing here? Not the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L., both of which have declared against any weakening of the 1946 resolution; not the liberal organizations or the Protestant churches." The question had no answer, and none was attempted. All the forces that elected President Truman had demanded a clear anti-Franco stand, and with manifest contempt for their

opinion the State Department was lending its decisive support to the policy of the Vatican and of reaction everywhere.

The distinguished Latin Americans, Dominguez Campora of Uruguay and Padilla Nervo of Mexico, filled the vacancy left by the United States as representatives of American democratic ideals. Without being directed against the State Department, like those of the Soviet bloc, the speeches of both delegates were in their ultimate effect equally disapproving. It was refreshing to find a Latin American ambassador to Washington ignoring the State Department to establish the incompatibility between the U. N. and Franco Spain.

Concrete and logical as always, Padilla Nervo went beyond the immediate issue to raise a question on which the entire future of the United Nations depends. Is this an Assembly of independent nations, he asked, able to decide on the basis of the facts presented, or is it a simple voting machine? It was a sharp indictment of those delegations whose votes had been arranged for in advance or obtained in the corridors by active lobbying. Dr. Maria de Diego of Panama and Dr. Carlos Gracia Bauer of Guatemala, both representing small states sensitive to North American pressure, also denounced the pro-Franco maneuver.

Tarassenko of Ukraine and Popovich of Yugoslavia, the latter speaking with the authority of a man who fought on the soil of Spain, supported the Polish resolution—later defeated—asking for stronger measures against Franco.

Great Britain and France joined the United States in abstaining when the roll was called. If responsibility for the abstention tactic falls directly on the American delegation, it is because the action of the British and, still more, of the French is comprehensible only as facets of American policy. Very adroitly Dr. Katz-Suchy of Poland reminded the British delegate, Hector McNeil, of Mr. Attlee's address to the British battalion when he visited Madrid during the Spanish war. What but American influence could induce British Labor ministers to disgrace themselves today in the eyes of the workers of Spain—and of their own rank and file? More humiliating still was the behavior of France. The three parties that form the French Cabinet have expressed themselves against any weakening of the government's opposition to Franco. In Paris last autumn I was expressly notified that Foreign Minister Schuman had told the Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly that no government could change its policy on that point without risking a ministerial crisis. But last Saturday M. Chauvel reversed his country's former stand.

A new name must be found for the Atlantic coalition. Perhaps it might be called the Anti-Cominform Pact. But let us be honest for once and refrain from describing an alliance under the leadership of the three Western powers as an undertaking to defend democracy. Supporters of the pact cannot talk about democracy if, three weeks after its signing, the United States, Great Britain, and France combine forces to promote the fortunes of the last fascist dictator alive.

New Congress, Old Factions

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, May 6

FOR THE time being the House of Representatives can get away with what it did this week to the legitimate rights and interests of working Americans and the voting population in general. The Administration's labor bill was defeated, Taft-Hartley stays on the books, and that is that.

The old statistical and economic specter of the 1930's—"the unemployed"—is fleshing up a bit with each new release of data by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But, for the time being, the militarized economy is still booming along, with roughly sixty million workers drawing weekly pay checks. In times like these the country as a whole can shrug off the deepening political failure that may be observed on Capitol Hill. Like the school children who keep the visitors' galleries of the House and Senate crowded in the annual spring migrations of graduating classes to the shrine of government, we can, as a nation, sit on the edges of our seats and follow the exciting show.

It would be idle, I believe, to attribute defeat of the Lesinski bill ultimately to the maneuvers of individual members or the strategy the Administration chose to use. What emerges from the continuing defeat of Fair Deal measures is the fact that the Eighty-first Congress, taken as a whole, is as much an instrument of monopoly-Main-Street-plantation reaction as was its predecessor. The dynamics for a creative legislative program are lacking in this Congress, and to relatively the same degree as in most of the sessions since the New Deal was abandoned for coalition government in the late 1930's.

Perhaps the clearest way to make the point is to let the Hearst press do so in its fashion. The following editorial from the New York *Mirror* writes an epitaph on the November 3 mandate as well as on the Lesinski labor bill:

We get a little tired of hearing the Eighty-first called a "do-nothing Congress."

It has been and is a magnificent Congress.

True, it has of necessity been a *defensive* Congress. Its positive accomplishments are few. It has not had time for the many pressing needs of the nation, because, from the outset, it was forced into the position of preserving the nation from the monstrous Truman "victory" program.

The Congressional coalition which is fighting for the nation's best interests is something like the football team which, losing the toss from the opening kickoff, must struggle to defend its own goal.

The Congress has not scored; but the nation has not been scored on.

To watch a commanding coalition of the House kiss off the democratic process with similar top-lofty contempt and blindness this week left one with a feeling that most Congressmen, like the country at large, are the victims of a paralyzing obsolescence in our federal institutions. The political vitality which voters in the mass demonstrated in November is being vitiated by the inadequacy of the political machinery which carries on after the election. The fault is in Congress, but it is also in part in the two-party system, the practice of committee assignment by seniority rather than by performance, the Electoral College, and the rotten-borough elective processes in the South and other machine-controlled areas.

A few days after the November election, when the Republican Party had been repudiated in the great upset at the polls, one of the least disturbed persons in Washington appeared to be ex-Speaker Joe Martin. Martin's obstinate, reactionary leadership of the House had contributed handsomely to the Democratic victory. It had also contributed handsomely to the prosperity of the corporate monopolies, which had entered on a period of fabulous profit-taking when many plant expansions were being financed from current earnings.

The press carried a plethora of crow-eating jokes when Martin called his first post-election press conference; but Joe was having none of it. Joe knew political arithmetic at a higher level than the ballot box, and he knew where the lines of power were drawn in the Eighty-first Congress. He knew that the Democratic ninety-vote majority was phony, and that Southern state machines, with their mechanical regularity, had returned a bloc of some sixty to seventy members who—retaining their strategic seniority positions on the committees—would nevertheless vote consistently with the Republicans. Someone asked Martin if he expected repeal of Taft-Hartley. "We might let them amend it a little," he answered.

This is the general background against which the Lesinski bill took its beating. The Southern Democrats, with a few notable exceptions, held their lines on one roll call after another. In effect they shifted the traditional "aisle" which divides the party seating far to the right of the Speaker. Time and again they filed passed the tellers, fifty to seventy strong, to crush a key measure of the Democratic Party; yet the label of that party is essential to them in their political rotten boroughs, and they receive from that party, on the basis of obsolete seniority rules, the most powerful committee assignments held by any group in Congress.

Ed Lahey of the Chicago *Daily News*, whose laconic one-sentence leads are legendary in newspaper circles, reduced his impressions to the following: "The Truman Administration today paid off its campaign promises to labor in Confederate money." On a crucial vote which was intended to soften up the coalition's "Wood substitute" I watched two Southern Representatives with whom I grew up. One stood to vote with the Administration on the amendment. The other, a Dixiecrat, was openly heckling him from the floor, and in this he was joined by the leading reactionaries in the House. The boys make it hard for a Southern member who wants to vote against the Republican Old Guard, the Union League Club, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

All who wrote or spoke in the weeks immediately after November upon the obvious theme that the Dixiecrats were unrepresentative of the real majorities and the nascent democratic forces in their region and should be taken at their word and read out of the party are in a position now to ring the changes on "we told you so." Yet the fact remains that reading Dixiecrats out of the party would probably have welded the coalition very early in the Eighty-first Congress. It might have

led to a sounder line-up in the Eighty-second, but no incoming Administration is capable of such farsighted and drastic strategy. Truman is stuck with a new and weighty reality—the open and systematic betrayal of the majority party by its disciplined minority; and American political forms have simply not adjusted yet to the resulting stalemate in social and economic legislation.

This is leading to government by negation and undirected drift, and as one watches this implacable process at work in all the major transactions of the Congress, the conclusion is inescapable that the federal government lacks the power to implement Truman's campaign pledges of a flexible but administered economy. The achievements of the Fair Deal legislative program are apparently to be limited to welfare and education measures. These are secondary and piecemeal devices and do not represent a fundamental approach to the problems of policing a national economy and preventing disastrous deflation. The Congress apparently is incapable of systematizing and improving upon methods used by the first New Deal. For the time being, with the militarized economy booming along, it doesn't matter.

Botch on the Rhine

BY CAROLUS

Frankfurt, April 26

EVER since Plutarch, sages and historians have resigned themselves to the fact that neither nations nor statesmen learn from history. Only in our time, however, has one and the same generation, regardless of the resulting disasters, repeated the same error two and even three times. Yesterday, April 25, the West German state, named the Federal Republic of Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*), saw the light of day in Military Government headquarters. For the Germans it was a painful forceps delivery in a military hospital. Those who witnessed it inevitably recalled a similar event—the birth of the Weimar Republic. That was in Berlin, on November 9, 1918.

The Allied armies stood on the Rhine. The Kaiser and the princes had fled. The German Empire was in dissolution. Hundreds of thousands of people marched through the streets of the capital, stood in the public squares. Philip Scheidemann told us later, in his memoirs, that at this very hour the leaders of the Social Democratic Party sat over their plates of pea soup in the Reichstag building arguing whether the Kaiser's grandson was to be placed on the vacant throne or the monarchy was to give way to a republic. Ebert, Scheidemann's opponent and subsequently first President of the republic, favored

the monarchy. A messenger came into the restaurant and whispered to Scheidemann that Karl Liebknecht, leader of the tiny Spartacus League and soon to be assassinated, had proclaimed a German Soviet Republic from the balcony of the imperial palace. Scheidemann dropped his spoon, opened a window on to the street, and proclaimed a free, democratic German Republic to the waiting crowds.

Fear of bolshevism motivated this action. And the same fear left its mark on the ensuing Treaty of Versailles, on the *cordon sanitaire* that was the new order in Eastern Europe, on the entire post-war policy of the Western powers. Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau were more worried about Lenin and Trotsky than about Hindenburg and Ebert. Versailles responded more to fear of Russia and the Russian revolution than to the German situation. Here began the line that led from Ebert to Hindenburg, from Hindenburg to Hitler.

Today there is the same fear of the West in the East, of the East in the West. The London *Times* said in an editorial on April 21:

No one who studies the history of the negotiations in Moscow last year can doubt that this [the wish to prevent the formation of a government in western Germany which would be immune from Communist



Dr. Schumacher
Leader of the Social Democrats

pressure] was the real reason for the blockade. At his first meeting with the Western representatives Mr. Stalin himself said, in the words of the British White Paper, that the communication restrictions had been made necessary because of the decisions taken in London in regard to the establishment of a new German government at Frankfurt and because of the introduction of a special currency in Berlin. . . . The truth is that the early estab-

lishment of a West German government will be by far the strongest card in any negotiations with the Soviet government over Berlin or Germany as a whole. So far from making the unity of Germany more difficult, it may be the best way of bringing it about.

Here, then, is the motive for the establishment of the West German state. Here, too, is the carrot that for ten long months has been dangled before the noses of the lame and reluctant German party wheel horses. Here, finally, to return to our earlier metaphor, is the forceps used in the delivery at the Frankfurt military hospital.

For six hours the party representatives of the Bonn Parliamentary Council, with the exception of the Communists, were locked up in a hall. At times the three military governors were present. At other times the Germans sat alone. Not even official stenographers were permitted to be present. The corridors teemed with German and foreign correspondents. Toward evening the Germans wanted to adjourn the session. The military governors detained them. "You must agree and decide." As night fell, the German delegates, on the verge of exhaustion, produced the Federal Republic. While the new state may bring western Germans many benefits and increased freedom, the fact remains that an American soldier stood outside the door of the Frankfurt conference room with orders to let no one in or out. Could there be a more effective demonstration of who wields the power in the new state?

WHAT has been the response of the German political parties? They have shown that their opinion of Western democracy is about on a par with their opinion of "popular democracy" in eastern Germany. They have but one concern—to prove to their countrymen that they are not Quislings. Whatever the future may hold of

proof or disproof, the story of the weeks preceding the birth of the new state are illuminating.

Under the pressure of the Berlin blockade the two leading parties of western Germany, the Christian Democratic Union (C. D. U.) and the Social Democratic Party (S. P. D.), each controlling about 40 per cent of the electorate, had declared themselves ready to accept a West German state. For ten months they debated the structural details of the new state in the Parliamentary Council at Bonn. Was it to be a federal state or a confederation of states? Was there to be centralization or decentralization of authority? Was the federal government to have financial sovereignty or were the member states to retain financial autonomy? Were there to be eleven individual states, each openly governed by selfish bourgeois interests, or was there to be a strong central government which would ease the burdens of the impoverished masses and permit some social and cultural progress?

The C. D. U. obtained the support of the military governments. The S. P. D. was beaten in all matters of importance to itself and the workers. The C. D. U., controlled by the Rhineland's heavy industry and the banking magnates, triumphed to such an extent that the S. P. D. threatened to vote against the constitution and thus against the creation of a West German state. The C. D. U. was compelled to make concessions. A compromise was effected: the new state was to be half centralized, half federated.

In the end Acheson, Bevin, and Schuman held a conference at Washington and the compromise formula was thrown out of the window. The new state was to have no financial authority over the eleven component states. When this was announced to the councilors at Bonn, the C. D. U. at once agreed. The S. P. D. issued an ultimatum. Unless the compromise was restored, it would reject the new state.

The crisis became sharper. The bourgeois press at home and abroad mercilessly attacked the S. P. D. and accused it of playing into Russia's hands. Even the Socialist *Populaire* in Paris read the riot act to its German friends.

A new note from the Western powers reached Bonn, containing "contingent instructions" from the Foreign Ministers which empowered the military governors to accept S. P. D. demands "as a last resort." This was a triumph for the S. P. D., stamping it in the eyes of the people as the savior of the Fatherland, the guardian of German patriotism, the victor over the Western powers and their ally, the C. D. U. The C. D. U. was publicly and officially pilloried as the handmaiden of foreign powers.

What was behind the courageous resistance of the S. P. D.? Its friends in the British Labor Party had informed it in time of the "contingent instructions" adopted in Washington. As for the rest of the story, the

Western powers will now have to settle that among themselves. Certain French papers are already speaking of Machiavellian British intrigues directed against the political and economic interests of France.

AT FRANKFURT, on April 25, the C. D. U. battled for six long hours to save its prestige, if not its very existence. But it had to drain the bitter cup to the dregs. The S. P. D. spared it no humiliation, and today the Socialists are savoring the first German political victory over the Western powers.

According to the London *Times*, the Western powers now hold "by far the strongest card in any negotiations with the Soviet government over Berlin or Germany as a whole." But they have paid dearly for this trump. In a material sense the cost includes partial surrender of plant-dismantling, Marshall Plan aid, and another billion dollars in special annual subsidies to western Germany. The political and ideological price is the renazification of western Germany, German hatred of foreigners and contempt for democracy, and loss of any prestige the Western powers may have still enjoyed. Despite its victory, the S. P. D. has become no friendlier toward the British, or toward the French, or toward the Americans. The sentiments of the C. D. U. may be imagined. It will now have to outdo its rival in nationalism to justify itself in the eyes of the people.

The cardinal question remains: Will the Federal Republic be the "bulwark against the east" the London

Times expects it to be? Weeks ago the C. D. U. negotiated with German emissaries from the east—with Herr Nadolny, former German ambassador at Moscow, and others. Bismarck's policy of seeking reinsurance with Russia enjoys more support today among the German bourgeoisie than anyone on the outside would imagine. Frederick the Great, the Rapallo Treaty negotiated by Rathenau, the alliance between General von Seeckt's Reichswehr and the Red Army, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact—the memory of all these precedents is stirring in western Germany.

Despite Marshall Plan aid and currency reform, western German commerce and industry are mired. Business casts yearning eyes toward the east and the Balkans, where the great markets once lay. In the west it sees only invincible competition. Among the working class and the disaffected intelligentsia, in the whole younger generation the idea of "national communism à la Tito" is spreading.

The S. P. D. and C. D. U. are not firmly established party organizations. Great sections of the electorate regard them merely as makeshift shelters. Partisan politics in western Germany are still in a state of flux. The dominant emotion, even among the so-called "decent elements," is hatred of both East and West, coupled with steadily dwindling faith in democracy. One German recently expressed the all-pervading cynicism in these words: "We might possibly be able to take a Third World War—but not a third occupation."



LIBERTY IN AMERICA

The Shoemaker's Children

BY SAMUEL M. BLINKEN

HAMPORTZOOM CHOOLOKIAN, an Armenian shoemaker, came to this country in 1913 in order to escape Turkish atrocities designed to exterminate his people. Choolokian and his wife became American citizens and the parents of six children. Their life here was not easy, and the difficult years were capped with real misfortune in 1942, when Mrs. Choolokian, after the birth of her sixth child, fell ill and had to be removed to an asylum. With a two-weeks-old infant and five other children on his hands, Choolokian requested assistance from the New York City Department of Welfare.

Except for the baby, the whole family had been baptized in the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox church, an ancient, non-Roman denomination. But since at the time

there were no accommodations available in a Protestant institution, and since there is no Armenian children's home in New York, the five oldest children were sent to the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, and Alice, the baby, was placed in the New York Foundling Hospital. Both institutions are run by the Catholic Charities of Greater New York.

Choolokian did not want his children to be reared as Roman Catholics. But in 1944 the two institutions told him he would have to remove them unless he consented to their baptism in the Catholic church. At that time there was still no room for the children in any Protestant home. Faced with this desperate choice, Choolokian consented. "As true religion is in the heart," he has since explained, "I felt it best to consent to the baptism and to have a roof over my children's heads."

The Armenian republic was recognized by the Allies

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in 1920 and proclaimed an autonomous state of the Soviet Union in 1921. Within Russia Armenian culture has had a rebirth. The people transact their affairs in the Armenian tongue, their schools and churches are conducted in Armenian, and the traditions of Armenia have been given a chance to flourish. In the past few years a large-scale repatriation of Armenians has taken place, somewhat akin to the movement of Jews to Palestine, drawing more than 100,000 back from all over the world. Influenced by this trend and by the hardships he had experienced in the New World, Choolokian decided in the late fall of 1946 to return to his native land with his wife and children, and he put in an application before a committee which arranges such transportation.

A few weeks earlier he had requested that his three oldest children be returned to him. His financial situation had improved, and his wife was at least temporarily in good hands. An investigation by the Welfare Department found that he was now earning approximately \$47 a week, that he was living in an "immaculately clean" three-room apartment, that he was a devoted father, and that the children themselves wanted to return home. Accordingly, the three oldest children were released to him.

A YEAR later he received word that space had been reserved on a repatriation ship for him and his family. Choolokian immediately requested the release of his wife from the Department of Mental Hygiene at Albany and of his three younger children from the Welfare Department. He was informed that his wife would be released just before the ship sailed and taken directly from her hospital to the vessel. Then the trouble started.

At the Welfare Department two employees in charge of the case, who as it happens are Roman Catholics, told him he could not be given his three younger children. He came to me for legal advice, and I talked with the two women. "Mr. Blinken," the first one said, "do you know what he wants to *dò* with those children? He wants to take them to *Russia*!" The other woman repeated and elaborated upon this theme. So I went higher up the ladder. I pointed out to the Welfare Department's lawyers that the State Department had approved the plan for the voluntary expatriation of Armenians. All passport requirements had been waived, and the government had promised to "facilitate" the emigration of Armenians, who could "freely" depart. In addition, the Soviet representatives here signed a paper, drawn up by Welfare Department attorneys, guaranteeing that the Soviet government would care for the children if they ever required help. In the light of these and other developments, including a second thorough investigation of the character of Mr. Choolokian, the Welfare Department executives overruled the decision of their two Roman Catholic subordinates and ordered the immediate release of the children.

That was on October 31, 1947, one day before the ship was to sail. But when Choolokian called at the Foundling Hospital to pick up Alice, he was informed that he could not get her. Again he appealed to me. After futile inquiries at the hospital I once more telephoned the Welfare attorneys. The institutions, I was told, had "reconsidered," after "apparently agreeing to comply." Choolokian's only recourse, they added, was now in the courts: "You'll have to get out your writs." The vessel was to sail at ten o'clock the next morning; the courts had already closed for the day. But by frantic efforts we managed that night to draw up petitions and writs, get them signed by a Supreme Court justice, and have them served on the attorney for the mission and the hospital. At 8 a. m. on Saturday, November 1, 1947, two hours before the repatriation ship was to lift anchor, the case began in the New York Supreme Court before Justice J. Edward Lumbard, Jr.

The hearing was not concluded that day because Judge Lumbard did not want to be "unfair" to the institutions. (I have since been told by other members of the judiciary that the matter should have been resolved in fifteen minutes and the father permitted to take his children with him, no matter where he wanted to go.) The defense was not conducted by the Department of Welfare but by the two Roman Catholic institutions—a clear instance of the tail wagging the dog. They pleaded that Choolokian proposed to take his children to a "foreign land" whose laws and institutions were "different" from ours; they also insisted that Choolokian was an "unfit" parent and would be unable to provide for the children in Armenia. To this he replied: "I wish to go [to Armenia] because I got my whole family there. I bring my whole family. I going to be very safe, very happy, and my kids going to be very happy and very safe there."

In addition, Deputy Welfare Commissioner Crystal M. Potter explained in court why her department had consented to release the children:

The father in this case had been a good father, he had been interested in the welfare of his children; in fact, both the institution [the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin] and the Department of Welfare had agreed to release three of his children previously to him on the basis of the fact that he was a proper father. . . . The State Department had given us every indication that they were giving their official approval of the Armenians going back to Soviet Armenia. We had letters from the Soviet embassy indicating that these children would receive proper care. These children themselves, from the information I had, were very anxious to be reunited with their family. Our whole emphasis in the Department of Welfare, as it is with the private agencies, is to reunite families whenever possible. . . .

Meanwhile, sailing time was drawing closer and closer. Mrs. Choolokian had been delivered to the ship,

and the three older children and all the family's baggage were aboard. No one could say when another repatriation trip would be arranged. Choolokian had given up his apartment and his job. In these circumstances he made one last crucial decision and decided to catch the ship before she sailed. It was agreed in court that he might leave without prejudice to any of his rights. Before departing he restated his claim to his children and particularly stressed the fact that he did not want them reared as Roman Catholics.

IT HAD long since become clear that the entire case was part of the crusade of the Roman Catholic church against communism. Monsignor John J. Corrigan, head of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, revealed in court that if Choolokian had wanted to take his children to Spain, no objections would have been raised; it was Russia and communism to which the Monsignor "fervently" objected.

For his part, Justice Lumbard conceived it his duty to "protect" the American citizenship of the children. He said that the father should be deprived "permanently" of his children rather than jeopardize their citizenship by taking them to Armenia. He attacked the Soviet Union in court, thus not only entering into a political domain but contravening the declared policy of the United States government in regard to Armenian repatriates. He disregarded the federal law which permits children taken out of the country to affirm or disavow their American citizenship upon reaching the age of twenty-three. He speculated on what the children might

want to do years from now. He ignored the findings of the Welfare Department. And among other things he disregarded the following principles embodied in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own.

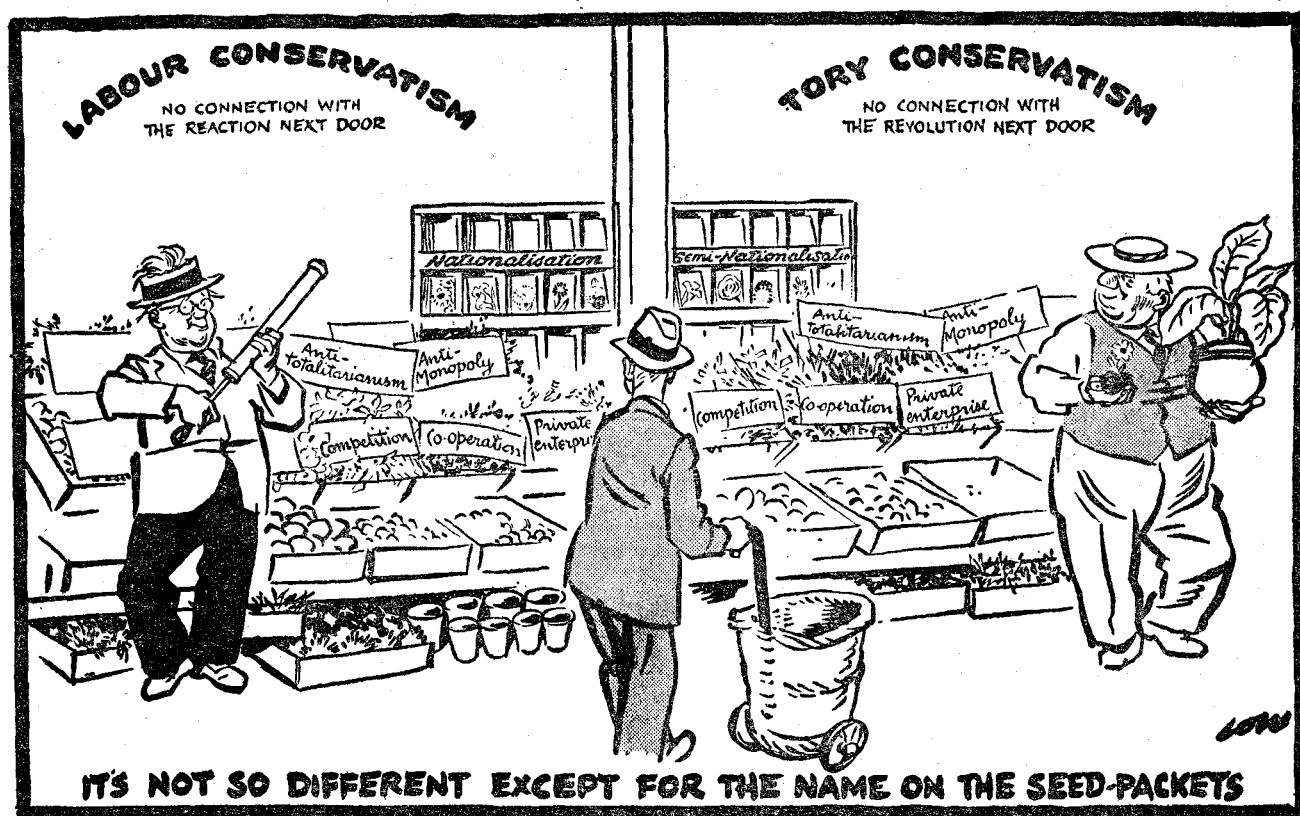
The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

It need hardly be pointed out, of course, that one of the greatest ironies of this case has been the fact that the Roman Catholic representatives have acted in direct opposition to one of their own most cherished doctrines—the superior right of parents to the custody of their children for religious and educational reasons.

When the legal grotesqueness of his position became clear, Justice Lumbard endeavored to depict Choolokian as an unfit parent, in the face of all the Welfare Department testimony to the contrary. But he did not have much to go on. So he complained of Choolokian's "pigeon English" and in the end refused to release the children.

An appeal was taken to the Appellate Division, First Department, which sustained Justice Lumbard's decision, without issuing any opinion, but granted leave for further appeal. The case was then carried to the New York State Court of Appeals, where it will be pleaded next week, probably on Monday. It is being supported by



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briefs *amicus curiae* from the Protestant Council of Churches of New York, the Armenian Church in North America, and the American Civil Liberties Union. A second proceeding has meanwhile been instituted, at the written request of Mr. Choolokian, to compel Welfare Commissioner Raymond M. Hilliard to transfer the three children still in this country to a Protestant institution or private Armenian home, access to both of which is now available. So far as I can determine, this is the first time in the history of the state of New York that a legal proceeding has become necessary to effect such a

change. Both the state social-welfare law and the city's administrative code require the commissioner to place the children in a home of the same religious faith as their parents. Nevertheless, Commissioner Hilliard, who is a Roman Catholic, has refused to transfer the children. The second proceeding is pending before the New York Supreme Court until the Court of Appeals has rendered its decision in the primary case. If that decision should reverse the Lumbard decision, the children will soon be on their way to Armenia, and the second proceeding will of course be dropped.

Could Japan Go Communist?

BY WILLIAM COSTELLO

Tokyo, April 17

I DON'T care whether China is red or green," said Premier Shigeru Yoshida, leader of Japan's conservative majority party. "China is a natural market, and it has become necessary for Japan to think about markets." That bit of bravado on the part of a politician who once said to me, "I hate communism so much I avoid even reading about it," indicates the uneasiness which has prevailed in Japan since the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist armies. There is no sharp fear of military attack—certainly not while American occupation forces are present—or of a revolutionary coup by the Communists here, but there is a vague apprehension that expanded trade with China, without which Japan cannot live, may strengthen the Japanese Communist Party by a process of slow infiltration. Before that happens, many persons would like to outlaw and crush the Communist Party by ruthless police tactics instead of trying to outpoint it in the politico-economic arena.

In the election of January 23, when the Communists, to the surprise of even their own leaders, won thirty-five seats in the House of Representatives as compared with their previous four, the question occurred to everyone: Was this a bandwagon vote, influenced by Communist victories in China? Opinions differed. In the Japanese Foreign Office youthful diplomats, waiting for a peace treaty which will restore their overseas assignments, refused to be stampeded. "People in general," they said, "are not greatly impressed, because Japanese have always looked down on Chinese, and because they feel it

will take years before the Communists can put their own house in order and constitute a real threat to Japan. To most Japanese, Chinese developments are still a fire on the other side of the river." Other observers agreed that there were substantial domestic reasons for the Japanese Communists' gains, citing the corruption of the dominant political parties, the difficulty of obtaining a living, the high taxes, the desire for national independence, and resentment at the occupation.

The fact is that for three and a half years the Communist Party has been building itself up with an energy and skill unmatched by any other party. Eighteen months ago Yoshio Shiga, editor of *Red Flag*, said that the party had transferred its organizing activities to the rural areas. He added, "In the big cities too much interference from occupation authorities."

While the Communists themselves were cautious in assessing the election returns, they did not conceal their satisfaction. Said Party Chairman Sanzo Nozaka: "The overwhelming victory of the Chinese Communists has brought bright hope to progressive workers, farmers, and small to medium business men. It has deepened their conviction that in the near future they can control Japan." To insure party harmony, and incidentally to dramatize the party's affinity with international communism, the leaders called the thirty-five-man delegation together and rammed through a resolution declaring, "All Diet members must act as party members, without slavish adherence to their constituencies." It is clear that Japan's Communists expect the growth of the movement in China to give impetus to their own program, and that their tactics will not differ from those pursued in other countries.

Sober-minded Japanese say that the extent to which the election was directly influenced by Chinese Communist victories is unimportant; what matters is that Asiatic communism is no longer a pigmy in Never-Never Land but a giant on the threshold. With a show of anxiety

WILLIAM COSTELLO, director of news broadcasts for the Far Eastern division of CBS, starts with this article a new series on the impact of the Chinese revolution on the peoples of the Far and Middle East. He is already on his way to the capitals of Southeast Asia and later will visit India and Turkey.

partly hypocritical and partly real, the more conservative argue that the danger should be dealt with ruthlessly and without delay. They are cleverly working the red herring as a means of preserving the nationalistic interests which General MacArthur came here to destroy.

INFORMATION from reliable Japanese officials indicates that Yoshida wants to scrap constitutional guaranties and declare the Communist Party illegal. Since he cannot obtain General MacArthur's permission for anything so drastic, he will continue to whittle away the freedoms granted in the few MacArthur reforms that have been implemented. He has maneuvered insistently for a revision of the labor laws. One of his recent proposals was for an investigatory committee, not in the Diet, where its activities would be publicized, but under the control of the Cabinet, like the old "thought police." Another was for a committee on "un-Japanese activities," also under Cabinet control, whose functions have never been defined.

By his creation of a purge appeals board to review the cases of men who feel they have been unjustly barred from public life, the Premier hopes to recover the services of General Hideki Tojo's followers, especially those who from 1931 on demonstrated their adroitness in suppressing civil liberties and controlling Japanese labor. He went so far, soon after the election, as to send General MacArthur a long list of purged officials whom he considered indispensable in promoting Japan's economic recovery. His request for their clearance met an emphatic refusal.

By now occupation authorities are under no illusion about Yoshida. A recent army report said:

Leaders of the Democratic-Liberal Party are well known for their lack of sympathy with some of the occupation's policies. Yoshida fought hard against transferring sovereignty from the emperor to the people. He attempted only recently to revive the power of the emperor by claiming that the emperor with the consent of the Cabinet could under Article 7 of the new constitution dissolve the Diet without the passage of a non-confidence motion. Again it was the Democratic-Liberal Party more than all others which opposed many SCAP-sponsored economic measures, such as strict price controls, liquidation of control associations, and the business-transactions taxes.

Editorials in prefectural newspapers express fear that Yoshida has no constructive policy for dealing with Communist aggressiveness. The *Sanin Nichinichi* made this typical comment:

It would be a total mistake for the administration to be under the impression that by suppression or by formation of an anti-Communist agency it can control a party which adheres to a specific thought as though it were a religion.

There is a widespread feeling that communism has grown too big and is deriving too much moral support from the Chinese Communist sweep to be beaten with police truncheons. The conviction is growing that Yoshida is more interested in defeating labor and sabotaging the occupation than in carrying out an economic program which could undermine the appeal of communism. A cautious warning against Yoshida's tactics was uttered in mid-March by William J. Sebald, chairman of the Allied Council for Japan and political adviser to MacArthur: "The cure lies," he said, "in broadly affirmative and constructively liberal policies—in finance, in employment, in social relations, in farm ownership, in all the phases into which society organizes itself."

THE economic implications of Chinese communism have aroused the liveliest concern in all parties. Communist Chairman Nozaka concedes that close economic relations are equally desirable for Japanese capitalists and Chinese Communists. The left-wing Socialist leader, Mosaburo Suzuki, says, "Trade is essential both for the Japanese and the reds." The conservative daily, *Mainichi*, observes, "The recovery of Japan depends on stability in China, and the slump in trade with China is one of the main causes of China's confused economy." The chairman of the Japan Trade association has announced that Japanese goods are already being smuggled into Chinese Communist territory through Hongkong and North Korea.

In 1914 Japan sent 37 per cent of its exports to China; the growth of ill-feeling in China reduced that figure to 24 per cent in 1927 and to 21 per cent in 1932. Japan then invaded Manchuria in order to recover its markets. By 1941 the figure had been brought back to 32 per cent, which means that a third of Japan's industrial economy was dependent on China. Japan obtained slightly less than a quarter of its imports from Chinese territory.

Today Japan needs China's soy beans, iron ore, coking coal, and salt. These commodities are not available in quantity elsewhere in the Far East, and if Japan were forced to obtain them from the United States, the cost would cripple its ability to compete in foreign trade. Unless Japan can sell cheap textiles and light industrial products to China, it can never hope to attain a level of exports capable of paying for essential food imports.

It is this remorseless logic which holds the Japanese transfixed before the Chinese revolution. They are afraid to trade, and afraid not to. Premier Yoshida "realistically" expresses willingness to trade regardless of the political consequences. Members of his Cabinet are non-committal. Some say it all depends on General MacArthur; others, that smuggling is already going on, with American middlemen making all the profit. Mosaburo Suzuki takes another line; he insists that "refusal to open trade with Japan would mean the destruction of the Chi-

nese Communist government." The Communist Nozaka ignores this appeal to Chinese self-interest and puts the shoe on the other foot. Pointing out Japan's need for raw materials, he predicts that the Chinese will not adopt trade policies helpful to Japan "unless a new and more democratic government replaces the present reactionary Yoshida Cabinet." He hints that action against Japanese communism will draw reprisals from China.

To sum up, the effect on Japan of Communist rule in China seems to have been (1) to give Japanese communism a psychological shot in the arm and the party important new bargaining power; and (2) to cause Japanese conservatives to be torn between their economic greed and the temptation to use strong-arm measures. It will be the task of the United States to provide a democratic, moderating influence.

Our Pampered Railroads

BY HERBERT ASKWITH

THROUGH some strange failure of public intelligence—some lack of attention on the part of the press, consumer organizations, or the people generally—an agency which has been responsible for a big share of our higher cost of living has completely escaped the accusing finger. Little or no notice has been taken of the fact that the sum total of rate increases—freight, express, and passenger—granted directly to the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the past two and a half years has added nearly four billion dollars to the annual expenses of American households, chiefly for vital necessities. As the ICC might well point out in its own defense, not a single organization representing the public has appeared before it to object to these increases.

A further utterly indefensible boost of 13 per cent in freight rates is now in the making—part of it, about 6 per cent, has already been granted as an interim "emergency" measure. Regional hearings were held recently in Washington, Chicago, Montgomery, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Oklahoma City. If civic organizations fail to enter vigorous protests against the proposed raises, they will almost certainly be granted.

When I appeared at the "emergency" hearing in Washington to register a lone consumer's protest, the commissioners were openly incredulous that anyone could appear before them simply as a representative of the public. It had never happened before—at least, the New York *Times* reporter told me, not in his six years' coverage of the ICC. The newspapers devoted more attention to the colloquy between the commissioners and myself than to the issues emphasized in my argument.

These issues are easily summarized:

HERBERT ASKWITH is a New York public-relations counsel who lives in Westchester and who developed an interest in railroad rates when the New Haven tried to raise commutation fares. This led him to make a study of the ICC's generosity toward the railroads and its effects on the public economy.

1. The ICC has concerned itself with insuring a high profit return for the railroads and has granted rate increases apparently without regard to the cost to the public or the eventual effect upon railroad traffic.

2. The railroads have fallen into the habit of asking the ICC for higher rates instead of seeking higher revenues through more efficient management.

3. Previous rate increases have caused sharp declines in passenger traffic and carloadings, which points clearly to further losses if more boosts are granted.

4. Wage scales have been raised several times, both for railroad workers and all other workers, as a sequel to these rate increases and the higher prices they have helped to bring about.

5. Having been granted more than twenty rate boosts* in the past two and a half years, the railroads are now enjoying the highest peace-time revenues in a generation. For the first nine months of 1948 the New York Central scored a gain of more than 2,500 per cent in net profits over 1947; for the entire year of 1948 its performance was more modest, but its net profit was still almost seven times that of 1947. The Pennsylvania's net profit for 1948 was almost five times that for 1947. (And only a little over a year ago the railroads and many editorial writers were using the Pennsy's 1946 deficit as conclusive proof that the railroads generally were in a bad way.) The Santa Fe reported nearly \$63,000,000 net income for 1948, the highest on record except for one war year. Most of the other roads have also come through with spectacular profits, even compared with the war years. In view of these facts the tearful pleas of the railroads before the ICC that they are faced by an "emergency" are the height of absurdity.

Unable to point to "huge deficits," the railroads are forced to fall back on the argument that their rate of

* Seven on freight rates (some of them interim raises absorbed in final over-all raises), six on passenger fares (some regional, others national), two on commutation fares, two on pullman accommodations, four on express rates, and one on railway-mail pay. Practically all these increases were in precisely the amount requested by the railroads:

return is still too low. To refute this now would only stir up a hornet's nest of debate over what is a genuine capitalization and what is a proper rate of return. The insistence on an *average* return means that the railroads want the public to pay the price of bringing the "weak sisters" among them to the level of the profitable systems. If rates are to be made high enough to take care of even the weakest roads, the most lucrative systems will reap unconscionable profits—at the public's expense.

Moreover, lush as are the 1948 profit figures for the big systems, they still do not reflect the full benefits of the three last freight increases, the last express-rate increase, and the two latest passenger-fare increases, for these have been in operation only during varying portions of 1948. So even allowing for the traffic decline which has already set in, the 1949 revenues will be very high *without* the further increase the railroads are fighting for. In fact, if this increase is granted, its benefits may be canceled by a further decline in traffic.

IF THE ICC considers that its statutory duty is to protect the railroads, whatever the cost to the public, it is strangely ignoring the red danger signals being flashed by railroad men, shippers, traffic experts, and state utility commissioners. Passenger traffic has dropped to the point where many railroads are cutting their schedules drastically. Recent headlines announced "76 Trains Cut Off by New York Central," "B. and O. Plans Layoff as Business Drops," "New Haven Cuts Saturday and Sunday Trains." And this is neither "seasonal" nor due to a natural peace-time decline from war-time travel peaks. A recent survey by the Curtis Publishing Company puts it tersely: "The railroads are losing business as a result of rate hikes, and bus lines are the chief beneficiaries." Air lines also attribute their improved passenger business to the rail-fare increases, and the use of private automobiles is increasing for the same reason.

Freight volume has fallen nearly 10 per cent below the 1947 level—according to latest reports—as a result of the freight-rate increases already granted, which total 53 per cent above the rates in effect two and a half years ago. Trucks, which used to do one-fourth as much business as the railroads, now do more than 35 per cent as much. Even coal and steel are being shipped in increased volume by truck; in a recent twelve-month period trucks moved 7,540,446 tons of anthracite coal. President Fairless of the United States Steel Corporation has advised the railroads in the Pittsburgh area that if they want to hold their freight traffic they will have to reduce their rates on steel by 40 per cent. Shippers from all parts of the country have warned the ICC that any further rate increase will accelerate the flight to long-distance trucking, and shippers who learn to use trucks rarely if ever return to the rails. Another development which bodes ill for the railroads is the decision of a

number of large companies to build new factories nearer to their raw materials or to their major markets, which ever would save the most on freight hauls.

Increased wages, which the railroads also cite in their pleas before the ICC, are part of the same crazy merry-go-round. The rail unions get a wage increase, the ICC grants the roads a higher freight rate to cover it, commodities go higher to cover the higher freight rate—and, pronto, the unions demand another wage increase, not only because living costs have gone up but because the railroads are getting more revenue and can therefore afford to pay their workers more. No other agency can break this vicious circle so easily as the ICC. A mere "no" just once to the railroads would do it.

If the ICC would really like to win the plaudits of a grateful nation, it would order a *decrease* in both freight rates and passenger fares and thus halt the downward trend of freight and passenger volume and at the same time give a tremendous fillip to our economy. Walter Reuther said recently, "Give us a rollback in prices and we won't press for another wage increase." A. F. of L. and C. I. O. spokesmen before the Congressional committee investigating profits also stated that a fourth round of wage increases could be prevented by lowering prices.

The likelihood that the ICC will rise to its opportunity is very slight, but there is a chance that the railroads themselves may wake up to the danger of their course. A few months ago George Ashby, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, called for "a halt to further requests for rate increases to avoid pricing ourselves out of business," and advised railroad executives to adopt rigid economies and greater efficiency in order to get the most from present rates. "In one form or another," he warned, "these higher rates are eventually passed on to the consumer." One can picture the consternation this must have caused President Faricy of the American Association of Railroads, and Vice-President Aronson of the New York Central, who as chief counsel for the railroads has been cracking the whip over the ICC. Ashby's remarks may be the signal for other breaks in the ranks. The newest of the railroad presidents, Laurence Whittemore of the New Haven, has already shown wisdom and courage by enforcing drastic economies in the New Haven's operating expenses and by lowering passenger rates in various ways to stem the decline in traffic. He is quite capable of joining the Union Pacific in opposition to higher freight rates.

But neither the ICC nor the railroads can be counted on to stop the 13 per cent increase which looms immediately ahead. Plainly it is the job of every group of citizens and consumers who are alive to their responsibility to let the ICC know in no uncertain terms that they are opposed to the increase as a threat to our national well-being.

BOOKS and the ARTS

LONDON GRAY, NEW YORK GOLD

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

London, April

WHEN in December, 1948, I returned to England after eighteen months in the United States I found things much better than I had expected. From the American press it had seemed possible to anticipate that there would be greater shortages than during the war. But in fact most things are a good deal more abundant. Although there is rationing, far more unrationed foods are obtainable. Fish, vegetables, and fresh fruit are plentiful. The shops are full of utensils which were in short supply during the war. There are odd shortages, such as coat hangers, paper clips, and cleansing tissues. Fats, sugar, and soap are still severely rationed. The meat situation, with a ration of eight pennyworth of meat a week per person is really very serious. But on the whole people seem more assured of a minimum of well-being. There are fewer queues, and there is less anxiety.

Years of economic exhaustion followed by socialism have resulted in a now very noticeable shortage of money. There is a purchasers' slump, which means falling prices even for things which people need, like houses—though these are still very high. When clothes went off the ration some weeks ago, there was no rush to buy them. Nothing could illustrate the shortage of money better than this, because the English of all classes have woefully shabby wardrobes. Culture is seriously threatened by this slump. The sales of books have fallen off badly; few people can buy paintings. Even plays and concerts are affected. Of course, the films are too, but this may be part of a larger, worldwide change in which people have simply lost their taste for movies, as they might for any other kind of glucose.

Rich people live on their capital, and those who have a little capital are investing it in their children's education and other such useful objectives. Thus

in this country of a ruined middle class the Public Schools are more fully booked for years ahead than they have ever been. The Very Rich have now acquired the exotic rarity of live models dressed in fancy dress in museums. I think that a good many people must secretly wish to keep them going, even at a certain cost, just as society preserves rare species of animals at considerable expense to itself. Should a Socialist government appoint a commission to inquire into the way in which rich people spend their money and allow those who spend it on entertaining distinguished foreigners and buying contemporary pictures to carry on? After all, it is better to be entertained by a person than by government officials, and it is better that works of art should be bought by individuals who show them to guests and lend them to galleries than by committees.

THE results of the local elections, in which Labor did very badly, contrast strikingly with the fact that Labor has not lost a single by-election in districts where there was formerly a Labor majority since the general election, despite the tremendous efforts of the Conservatives and the seemingly favorable circumstances—such as in the recent Hammersmith by-election. The swing to the right is rather surprising. Nevertheless, the considerations which make people vote in local borough-council elections are not the same as those which affect them in a parliamentary election. The issues on which these elections are fought are local ones. In local politics, revolving about local issues, the Conservatives are not at the disadvantage, as they are in a general election, of having no national policy. Nor does the weakness of the leadership of the parliamentary Conservative Party affect the local elections, where people are voting not for Churchill and Eden but for some local borough coun-

cilors. For years Labor had control of the London Council when in Parliament it did not have a majority of London seats.

If Labor loses the next election, it will be a vote against Labor rather than for the Conservatives. There is certainly always the possibility of a vote against Labor, although I do not think this likely. The Labor Party does not arouse the kind of enthusiasm which, for example, was felt by a number of people for the Spanish Republicans. It is a government of rather tired, benevolent schoolmasters. Some of them, such as Cripps, seem less than benevolent, but actually Cripps's severity is of a kind which probably makes him rather popular. He has a reputation for never smiling, which means that when he does smile, the British populace gives a sigh of relief. On the other hand, his not-smiling relieves them, in some way, of a burden. Dr. Edith Summerskill is my pet hate. As one who often expounds the views of the Ministry of Food, she thinks that to prefer Camembert and Port Salut to the cheese which is known as "mouse-trap" is to exercise class discrimination, and that it is a virtue not to be able to distinguish the taste of butter from margarine. A passion for self-righteous colorlessness is the vice of the government. Characteristically, it thinks that it is the duty of the British to export expensive luxury goods to the rest of the world, and at the same time to refuse to import French wines and other luxuries.

All the same, it is a government of good reason and conscientious effort. Perhaps the fact that it does not provoke enthusiasm is to its credit. Other countries have gone into communism and fascism with flags flying, trumpets blowing, and crew cheering. Only England has gone into socialism with officers whose noses are red, not through excess, but through anaemic abstinence,

and with a crew all dutifully depressed. A Minister is sacked after the inquiries of a tribunal which show that he has accepted as a present some cases of whiskey from a business man; and signs of cheerfulness from Churchill, although they provoke a smile and a ragged hurrah, are probably one reason why the people vote solidly against him. At least this asceticism means that people in Britain are alert and are not dupes of anyone. They can support a cause without being taken in by it, with clear eyes on all its disadvantages.

New York

MY AMERICAN friends often complain to me about the "grayness" of England, and as the reader will see I do not defend this. The objection to grayness is that it produces a kind of grayness of the spirit. I admit that living under the Socialist government is rather like being married to an extra wife. One has to support her, she meddles in all one's affairs, one has to ask her leave before repairing one's house, one spends much time carrying on a dreary factual correspondence with her about household arrangements. All this certainly adds up to a weight on the mind. But on the other hand, on returning to New York a few days ago I found that there are things which weigh worse in America. We in England have to support a government which gives milk to school children and health insurance to the whole population. Thousands of you have to support a standard of social respectability which means having the most up-to-date automobile, a television set, deodorants, and a dozen other unnecessary things which you waste your time and energy in earning. The newspapers and the radio advertise this standard of respectability, which is an insult to the needs of the poor so long as there are any poor and which, most unfortunately, becomes the values by which America is judged by the rest of the world. Britain, through the hard way of misfortune, not through its own virtues, has suddenly shed an enormous amount of guilt toward its own poor and toward large numbers of people where we had possessions in the world. It seems to me tragic that America is now acquiring this guilt without Americans realizing it. It was the misfortune of Britons in

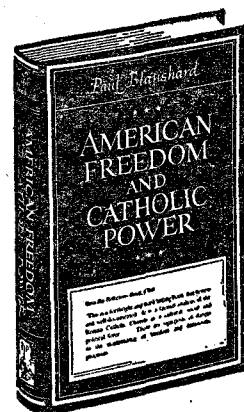
the nineteenth century to think that they were universal benefactors and to find themselves hated. The same misfortune is beginning to overtake Americans, without their understanding why any more than the English did, and in a much more strained world situation.

So, if I have to have a lining, I think I prefer a gray one to a gold one. The fact is that the world is suffering from tremendous poverty and increasing shortages, and that it is inhabited by people who become less and less content with these conditions. People must become either gray with the condition of the world or gold with the benefits of injustice. To be either is a burden on oneself.

THE intellectuals in the thirties were the vanguard of the left. There are signs now that some of them might split off from the others and become New Conservatives. I was surprised when I was in England—as I am also surprised in America—to discover how many of my Popular Front literary colleagues have become conservative.

Cyril Connolly, in explaining to me that he was sorry the Conservatives had not won the Hammersmith election, put the case of these intellectuals at its most restrained, which is perhaps at its best. The government, he said, was becoming a single party in a one-party country where there was no opposition. It had not lost a single by-election. The Conservatives, sunk by being tied to the prestige of Churchill, were unable to form any policy. The government was not perfect, and there were certainly opposing points of view which ought to be formulated. But the Conservatives, the only opposition party, were weakening and becoming more ineffective.

One of the causes of the misgiving frequently expressed in *Horizon* is the growing officialization of the arts in England. With the complete decay of an already declining tradition of patronage, support of the arts is falling more and more into the hands of official agencies, such as the Arts Council and the British Council. These support concerts, entertain visiting intellectuals, send English lecturers abroad, buy works of art for galleries, and so on. At present they are run by discriminating people who have the kind of taste which was once demonstrated



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American Freedom AND Catholic Power

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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by the art criticism in the *New Statesman and Nation*. But they already show signs of the danger of academicism: to give too much support to the respectable, to overestimate the tasteful, and to neglect the eccentric and the unrespectable.

The modern artist is profoundly bourgeois: that is to say, he is an individualist whose independence has been made possible by the secret connivance of bourgeois society. The bourgeois can, in the last analysis, support the anti-bourgeois, the revolutionary, the unrespectable, the bohemian in art—and has done so. Can the collectivized state, run by officials and responsible to the public for the spending of public funds, support the fiction of individualistic independence which seems necessary to creative genius ever since the Renaissance? Perhaps there is some way by which the state will be able to protect the artist from itself, or by which the artist may be able to discover a position of independence within a collectivized society.

Britain is really a Socialist experi-

ment in a sense in which Russia certainly is not. For an experiment is a condition in which nothing is proved, and in which the experimenters are watching for results and prepared to change the nature of the experiment. The best one can hope for is that it will always remain experimental, subject to open discussion and to change.

Church and Conscience

AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER. By Paul Blanshard. The Beacon Press. \$3.50.

MR. BLANSHARD has attempted, with a high degree of success, an extraordinarily difficult task—that is, to write without bigotry an objective statement of the relation of the powerful Roman Catholic church to freedom. It is not a simple question in the case of an organization which considers itself the custodian of truth and the vehicle of salvation. (That is its claim even if it offers a guarded hope of salvation to some outside its fold.)

Mr. Blanshard directs his discussion in particular to the Catholic church in

America. He accepts as his postulate the American idea of the separation of church and state and the American guaranty of freedom of conscience. His book is carefully documented and makes sparing use of adjectives. In the main Mr. Blanshard states facts as he has checked them and makes certain logical deductions from them. His standpoint is that of a man who believes in the values of religion and in religious freedom but does not accept certain Catholic dogmas and is concerned when the church tries to force those dogmas on non-Catholics. He expressly repudiates any sympathy with the vicious anti-Catholic prejudice and discrimination which from time to time have cropped up in American politics and community life.

The author begins by emphasizing the authoritarian role of the Catholic hierarchy and telling how it works. He discusses the general subject of the church, the state, and democracy, and against this background examines the church's position on such practical matters as sex, birth control, eugenics, marriage, divorce, and annulment. While the author

"No one looking at the world we live in can doubt that the theme of this book is, or should be, on the agenda of every modern society."

—D. W. BROGAN, *The Times Literary Supplement*

ON POWER

ITS NATURE AND THE HISTORY OF ITS GROWTH

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doubt the quality and distinction of M. de Jouvenel's book. Every page of it is stimulating and whether one agrees or disagrees it is an illuminating experience. It is the work of an extraordinarily skillful mind."—HAROLD J. LASKI

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makes clear his differences with the church on these subjects he is primarily concerned with the effort of the church to force its position on birth control and divorce on non-Catholics through the machinery of a state.

At a time when the pressure of population upon food supply is increasingly serious in many parts of the world, the steadfast opposition of the church to any form of voluntary birth control except by observance of "rhythm" raises very serious problems, especially when the church seeks to deny to physicians the right to impart information. In this effort it is apparently not very successful except among the poorest and least educated of its adherents. The result is hypocrisy writ large.

The same thing is true of divorce. Despite the terrific scandals arising from the exposure late in 1948 of widespread perjury and fraud in obtaining divorces in New York State, where the only legal ground is adultery, the church successfully blocked any legislative action, even the appointment of a commission to study the situation and propose new laws.

The author discusses at some length the rigidity with which the church seeks to enforce its general position that, if a choice must be made, the life of the unborn child, even the smallest embryo, should be preferred to that of the mother. In every case he quotes authorities. He is equally careful to quote authorities when he speaks of the church in relation to science and scholarship. He is discriminating in discussing the rather complex relationship of the church to fascism and communism. He acknowledges that "the Father Coughlins and the Christian Front are not representative of American Catholicism today." He might have added that it was the church which silenced Father Coughlin. Its record in Europe and South America is not as good as in Detroit.

Mr. Blanshard acknowledges an especial concern over the church's attitude toward public education. Ideally the church believes that education is its function, not the state's. Its desire is to get state support for church-conducted schools. In America it seeks at one and the same time to establish its own system of schools and to interpenetrate the public schools. The author holds up the

Read in This Week's New Republic the

32-page SUPPLEMENT on

How Strong Is Soviet Russia?



Recently a group of journalists, philosophers, scholars, and expert observers met privately to discuss a subject of deep concern to all who have been watching the development of the USSR.

They talked about the strength and the weakness of the Soviet Union—principally social, economic and political. Among other questions, they asked each other—how far has economic recovery progressed in the USSR? what has happened to living standards? has a class system developed? how about the prestige of the Soviet Communist Party? what is the ideological meaning of the attack on the West? is the USSR likely to precipitate war?

The participants included Joseph Barnes, Abram Bergson, Cyril Black, Lewis Feuer, George Fischer, Louis Fischer, Andrew Gyorgy, John Hazard, Maurice Hindus, Alex Inkeles, Richard Lauterbach, Robert Magidoff, Harry Schwartz, Solomon Schwarz, Ernest J. Simmons, Bertram D. Wolfe.

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educational situation in the Province of Quebec as a horrible example of the church's ideal in practice.

No review of reasonable length can deal adequately with the case which Mr. Blanshard carefully builds up. It will arouse much opposition. It cannot be answered by emotional diatribes. Its critics, to be at all successful, must do one or more of the following things: (1) prove serious misstatements of fact; (2) justify not only the church's stand as mandatory upon its adherents but the church's right to force its positions upon non-Catholics who sincerely reject their moral validity; or (3) argue that these matters are relatively unimportant and that discussion of them stirs up trouble at a time when we must accept on its own terms the strong support of the church in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism.

For myself I think these issues tremendously important, and I believe that our American capacity to discuss them openly and intelligently, on the basis of fact, will give evidence of the health and maturity of our democracy. The church has played a great role in the development of our Western civilization. Here in America its stand on many social questions is becoming increasingly enlightened and progressive. That does not give it immunity from criticism in matters pertaining to our common well-being.

Fortunately in practice neither the church nor the pope, its head, claims such all-embracing infallibility as Stalin and the Communist hierarchy assert. As I write these lines, prominent Catholics in Congress have announced their intention of supporting the President's health-insurance bill, although it was criticized by the welfare agencies of the church. Justice Murphy, a devout Catho-

lic, was part of the majority of the Supreme Court in the decision on the McCollum case, which prohibited the use of public-school classrooms for "released time" religious classes and in so doing reiterated that "the First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state which must be kept high and impregnable." Freedom suffers when either dominates the other under any authoritarian code or creed.

NORMAN THOMAS

Asia Out of Control

THE SITUATION IN ASIA. By Owen Lattimore. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$2.75.

WITH the Chinese Communists already in Nanking and rapidly pressing their easy gains throughout the central Yangtze valley, "The Situation in Asia" becomes important reading for those who want to understand this latest move as part of the general pattern of revolt in Asia. Perhaps some of the fifty Senators who recently asked for greater military aid to China would be forced to reconsider their "simple" solution if they read Owen Lattimore's suggestions, which are based on years of Asiatic experience, especially in that vast region where Chinese and Russian influences meet.

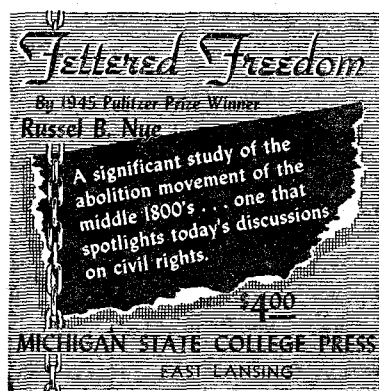
Although Lattimore is familiar with American foreign-policy procedures from his extensive war-time experience as director of the Far East and Pacific Branch of the OWI, "The Situation in Asia" is more a guide to wise policy than a detailed directive for American legislators or diplomats. The author's skill lies in his ability to interpret the complex patterns of current history in a huge area extending from Yugoslavia to Japan. If at times he moves rapidly from one country to another (Chapter IX), it is because he does not want the general reader to lose sight of one of his main themes: the problems of Asia cannot be solved apart from those of Europe. America cannot afford to take up Russia first, Europe second, and Asia third. "All of these problems are interdependent. All must therefore be solved simultaneously."

Lattimore contends that Asia is now out of control. Although Japan shattered the old imperialisms, the new

power contenders have not consolidated their positions. Both Russia and the United States are trying to extend their influence throughout this area. Russia's advantages stem from its geographical position and its professional ability to exploit revolutions. America has a temporary advantage in being able to offer needed economic supplies and skills even though the distances be great. But Lattimore is strong in his conviction that neither of these powers will be able to fill the gap left by the old empires. A new, indigenous, anti-feudal, and revolutionary force—nationalism—has arisen to fill this gap. The rise of these new nations is a healthy sign for peace. By working through the United Nations these "Third Quotient" powers may be brought closer to the American than the Russian side.

The whole world can now see what the book emphasizes—that China is the country most out of control. Lattimore views the outcome of the current struggle in terms not so much of the "striking power of the Communists" as of the "galloping process" of collapse of the feudalistic Kuomintang. American "power in China has suffered a sharp decline; but not everything that we have lost has been gained by Russia. The difference accrues to China, and the China of the next few decades will be no puppet or pushover for the Russians." Such a flat prediction has to be balanced against an earlier statement that if the Chinese Communists gravitate toward a Russian political center, the world will be very different from what it would be if the political center of gravity stayed in China. Lattimore predicts a shift in power among the Chinese Communists from the peasants to the urban proletariat, but he is silent on exactly what such a change will mean.

As one who had considerable experience in 1945 with Kuomintang censors concerning the translation and publication of Lattimore's earlier book "Solution in Asia," I can't help wondering what fate this present volume will have at the hands of the Communists. Perhaps the first section to be cut would be the three pages in which the author refuses to join the large new crowd which has turned against Chiang personally. This fairness is also apparent in Lattimore's characterization of General MacArthur, although his criticism



wanted: a point of departure

RECENTLY we were talking to our great and good friend Robert Louis Shayon, an extraordinary young philosopher who produces, directs and generally masterminds the CBS radio program, *You Are There*. Bob's fascinating mind, shaped by experience in documentaries and sharpened by a passion for analysis, leads him to believe: "*What the people need is a point of departure for their thinking. They want to be able to slant their minds so they can absorb, digest, utilize, screen and profit by the welter of information that avalanches down upon them from all sides.*"

* * *

Who can disagree? Can anyone deny that the average man, assaulted through his ears and eyes without letup, lives continuously in a din of confused wondering? Yet, what is to be done about it?

* * *

Bob does what he can—and well. His CBS documentaries (The Eagle's Brood, etc.) provide pertinent information with clearly delineated points of departure for thinking about the subject at hand. That's his contribution.

* * *

Here at the Graphics Group we set out to do exactly the same thing in our own way: combining in illustrated booklets, information together with a few road signs that may help people set their minds. That is why so many of our books came to be titled, *How to Think About...*

* * *

But there is another equally important facet to the Graphics Group editorial

policy: say what ought to be said—then shut up.

* * *

Ever notice that you can leaf through the average non-fiction book, and nine-times-out-of-ten stumble upon the gimmick that led the author to write the book in the first place? His basic idea, which he swelled into several hundred pages, is often buried—complete in a dozen or so pages—somewhere in the wilderness. But he had to make a big book of it in order to have it published at a profit-making price. Or the publisher couldn't publish it, the book seller couldn't get enough for it, and there would be no royalty for the author.

* * *

Well, we determined that a goodly slice of information-minded people would prefer the nugget without the ore, and we set about sidestepping the economic problem involved by: (1) putting a good investment against the preparation of booklets, (2) standardizing the size, (3) trimming management costs, (4) selling direct to the consumer, and (having learned that our readers find other readers for us if you give them time), (5) being patient enough to make haste slowly.

* * *

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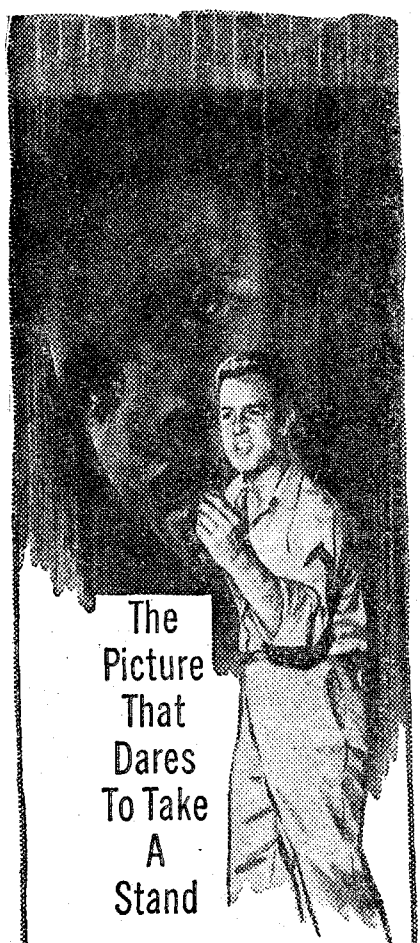
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of both Chiang's and MacArthur's regimes is penetrating and at times devastating. Some readers may be surprised at the emphasis Lattimore puts on the change in SCAP after the election of the Eightieth Congress. Is SCAP more responsive to the American climate than some had feared?

Americans are specifically warned that "Japan is nobody's ally." America should not rely on Japan as a workshop or a bulwark against Russia. A Japan made strong by America "is automatically a Japan strong enough to double-cross America, and make its own deals both with Russia and with the rest of Asia." Americans are also warned about the way they have created a weak police state in Korea.

To most Americans the picture of Asia looks black, but Lattimore is optimistic because of his faith in the "Third Quotient." To the people of the new countries of Asia this is not an age of chaos but of hope for constructive activity among free peoples. America has "everything to gain by being on the side of hope."

EVERETT D. HAWKINS

People per Square Meal

NEW WORLDS EMERGING. By Earl Parker Hanson. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. \$3.50.

NEW WORLDS EMERGING," by Earl Hanson, takes the optimistic side of the current controversy over whether the resources of our planet have been plundered to the point where those living on it cannot hope to feed themselves. It suggests that there are "new worlds emerging" which can support expanding populations. The days of exploration and resettlement are not over. The reason we thought they were is that "walls of the mind" have hidden the real facts. One such wall is the idea that you cannot build up the productivity of "submarginal" lands. Another wall is the traditional concept, fostered by some geographers and popular writers, that only certain areas of the world are habitable. We have been using maps of Mercator's projection. The parallel strips at the bottom and top of such maps we throw out of our reckoning because the climate is too cold. The strip in the middle we throw out because the climate is too hot. Earl

Hanson points out that in these neglected areas are unlimited amounts of productive land. The Russians are growing crops on the upper boundaries of Siberia, within the Arctic Circle. Brazil is planning settlements in the Amazon valley, not far from the Equator. In Puerto Rico, where population is dense in relation to land area, new policies and new leadership are attracting modern factories financed by private capital to process local foods for local use or provide wages with which workers can buy imported foods.

As Earl Hanson points out, "it is not the land that is overpopulated in terms of inhabitants per square mile; it is always an economy, in terms of inhabitants per square meal." Actually, rainfall more than land may be the key factor in determining the number of square meals locally produced, since 95 per cent of the chemical elements in basic foods come from water and air. Climatic conditions are of course also important, but if you can't grow cellulose as cotton in a warm climate, why not grow it as wood in a cold or frigid zone? Grasses grow in all climates, converting elements in air and water into food for livestock, which in turn can furnish fats and proteins for an acceptable standard of nutrition. The idea that fat meats are inedible in warm seasons or a warm climate is another "wall of the mind."

As evidence that people can live anywhere, Hanson points out that the range of temperatures encountered in the tropics is very close to that below which the American tenant will start to pound on his radiator for more heat. Using Mercator's projection, we have been treating the world as a cylinder. But the war taught us again that the earth is not a cylinder but a globe. We learned that North-South is often shorter and more important than East-West. This and other considerations may be behind the fitting out of ten expeditions which Hanson reports are to explore Antarctica. Everywhere man is today reexamining the physical earth from fresh points of view and in greater detail than before. As a result of this new era of exploration, new *physical* worlds are emerging—in the Amazon, the Soviet Arctic, Alaska, Africa. New experiments are under way in economic development—the Ste-

tinus plan in Liberia, Nelson Rockefeller's International Basic Economy Corporation in Brazil, new business leadership in Puerto Rico, local manufacturing and use of volcanic heat in Iceland, multi-purpose resource developments planned in Mexico, Brazil, and South Africa copied after TVA, and President Truman's "bold new program" based on use of private capital and modern technology under new rules and conditions to improve underdeveloped areas. All these are examples of the vanishing old colonialism and of the emerging *economic* worlds.

There is of course hope for old areas. In the Tennessee valley, for example, soil experts are unwilling to say that any particular acre of land cannot produce crops, that the days of productivity of once fertile land are over. *They don't, in fact, know what submarginal land is.* Time and again farmers have taken worn-out fields and by putting back the minerals, phosphorus, and lime, and growing legumes to get nitrogen, have built up the soil to or beyond former levels of productivity. With all the other new methods for increasing crop production—improving seed, irrigation, building up bacteria and humus in the soil, mechanization, and prevention of food spoilage and waste—with all these new developments who is to say what the limits of productivity are? Why close the books when we are just now beginning to learn to use those of our resources which are renewable.

It is true that certain resources such as oil are exhaustible and once used are gone forever. In this country particularly we have in two centuries dangerously depleted important mineral reserves which cannot be replaced. But food and fibers and forests are replaceable. Earl Hanson's book helps to offset the point of view of those whom he calls

... prophets of doom who summarily dismiss both north and south as regions for new endeavor, look about at the lands in between, state correctly that our culture has made a mess of its utilization of natural resources, and arrive—via the so-called Malthusian law—at the conviction that there is now no real solution to the Western world's problems except the energetic conservation of natural resources, going hand in hand with the partial extermination of human re-

sources through birth control, imposed by the few on the many. The real and acknowledged validity of their plea for conservation is more than offset by the negative nature of their ultimate conclusion, which is not designed to hearten a million readers for the large tasks ahead.

HOWARD P. EMERSON

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

GEORGE BELLWS is one of the most important artists America has produced in this century. This does not mean much to world art perhaps, in view of what is still the rather minor importance to it of American art as a whole. Bellows died in 1925 at the age of forty-two, and for his short lifetime was contemporary with a number of painters in France, and in Germany and England as well, whose contributions swelled and advanced the main stream of art as his did not. Brought next to Matisse, say, or Soutine or Beckmann or even Walter Sickert, Bellows begins to look provincial.

But something more lies beneath this provinciality, just as it does in John Sloan's very similar case. Bellows, like Sloan, was a disciple of Robert Henri and his genre realism, and he started out as a painter in the early 1900's in a manner closely resembling Sloan's: with a palette confined to the middle register characteristic of that period, all grays, gray-blacks, gray-whites, pale unsaturated yellows, buffs,

greens, and pinks. Color was not the main thing, and it was rarely used with any vividness; the picture was organized and accented in terms of dark and light; at the same time chiaroscuro was renounced: like Manet, Bellows modeled his forms broadly, in varying shades of the local color, not in gradual grays or blacks. This style was a continuation, essentially, of Manet's phase of impressionism, but both Bellows and Sloan extracted something sufficiently new from it, something this writer considers to be still a part of the best American art of the twentieth century. A beautiful example of this kind of painting can be seen currently at a small show of Bellows's work at H. V. Allison and Company (through May 28)—"Beach at Coney Island," done in 1908. And there is also "Blue Morning," painted in 1907, in which Bellows began to display a capacity for atmospheric color.

Several years later the artist went in for intenser color, and here—although there is much opinion that holds the contrary—I feel he did even better work. As before, the paint is laid on fat, never in impasto but in a thick, viscous film; now, however, this serves to reflect more light and infuse with a curious sultry brilliance the heavy viridian greens and ultramarine blues he sees in foliage and sky. It was such color that Bellows used in his landscapes, especially those square views from the east bank of the Hudson—the pictures by which, in my estimation, he will live longest. There are, however, competent critics who think

• On View This Week •

PAINTINGS BY GEORGE BELLWS

to May 28
H. V. ALLISON & COMPANY
32 East 57th Street

RECENT ACQUISITIONS, through July 17, including important Matisse and Maillol. MASTER PRINTS FROM THE MUSEUM COLLECTION, May 11–July 10—230 important prints from the Museum's 3,000, to inaugurate opening of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Print Room.
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 West 53rd Street

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Bellows weak as a colorist and that this weakness renders his open-air painting inferior to his lithographs during the last part of his life (see Jerome Mellquist in "The Emergence of an American Art"). It is true that Bellows could paint pictures in which he used color very clumsily—see, for example, the "Bull and Cows" of 1918 at Allison's—and that when he reverted to his older, more draftsman's manner, as he would do in his big prize-fight paintings, which are almost monochrome, he could calculate his effects more surely. But an artist is to be judged by his best, not his safest work, and it still seems to me that Bellows was at his best, even if not at his surest, as a colorist and landscape painter: then he was more ambitious, more spontaneous, and took more chances.

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The exhibition at Allison's hardly represents this side of his talent. On the whole it is not a show Bellows could be safely judged by, although at least three successful pictures are present (there is "In the Woods—Waterfall" of 1909, in addition to the two canvases already mentioned). The Metropolitan Museum gave Bellows a full-scale memorial show in the year of his death, in 1925, and early in 1946 the Chicago Art Institute held an even larger exhibition of his work. It is about time we had another chance to see him spread large, here in New York, if only to remind us, as we so often need to be, of what Americans were capable of in the way of art at a time when its prospects in this country seemed less hopeful than they do now.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ONE of the year's outstanding events is the RCA Victor recording of Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" Symphony made by Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony (DV-27 on vinylite, \$11). For some listeners accustomed to the traditional overemphatic, vehement distortions of this fine work it will be a shock, and to others it will be a revelation, to hear the work with those distortions removed—to hear it, that is, played as Tchaikovsky's score directs, and with beautifully integrated tonal values and plastic proportions which restore to it the organic coherence, dramatic power, and artistic validity of which the Koussevitzkys and Stokowskis, great and small, have robbed it. The recording gives us the natural and beautiful sound of the orchestra in Carnegie Hall, with some muddiness in the big climaxes of the first movement, and with compression instead of the spacing out that is to be heard in the best English Decca recordings. The surfaces of my review set are rather noisy for vinylite, a couple of them having bad scrapes.

In honor of Beecham's seventieth birthday Victor has issued five recordings that he made with his Royal Philharmonic: of Mozart's Concerto K.299 for flute and harp, with René Le Roy and Lily Laskine as soloists (DM-1292,

\$4.75); Liszt's "Orpheus" (DM-1295, \$2.50 in the new two-pocket paper container); Debussy's "Printemps" (DM-1293, \$2.50); Dvorak's "The Golden Spinning Wheel" (DM-1291, \$2.50); and the Overture, Polka, and Dance of the Comedians from Smetana's "The Bartered Bride" (DM-1294, \$2.50). The Mozart is a routine, uninteresting work; the Liszt yearns soulfully in a way that I find hard to take; the Debussy is in his earliest sugary style; the Dvorak is melodious but boring, with little discoverable relation to the story described on the container; the Smetana pieces are delightful. The performances are excellent, except for one of Beecham's perversely over-deliberate tempos that robs the Smetana overture of brilliance; and they are superbly reproduced, except for the sharpness of the sound of the Mozart and the loss of volume at the ends of the Smetana pieces. Surfaces are poor.

Mendelssohn's charming "Scotch" Symphony calls for a lighter hand than Rodzinski's in his performance with the Chicago Symphony, which is reproduced with richness and spaciousness (DM-1285, \$6) (most of the surfaces are surprisingly quiet). Also beautifully reproduced is what seems to be an excellent performance by Monteux and the San Francisco Symphony of Scriabin's Poème d'Extase, which I can't imagine interesting many people today (DM-1270, \$2.50). And reproduced with excessive reverberation is a Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony performance of Strauss's "Don Juan" with characteristic distortions of tempo (DM-1289, \$2.50).

From Columbia a recording of Chausson's Symphony made by Mitropoulos with the Minneapolis Symphony (MM-825, \$5.20). The finely wrought work's Wagnerian and Franckian dramatic-symphonic style is one I don't care for; the performance is fair, and is well reproduced except for a couple of strident sides; surfaces are surprisingly noisy for Columbia.

CONTRIBUTORS

EVERETT D. HAWKINS served with the OWI as Director of Information at Chungking. He is now teaching at Mount Holyoke College.

HOWARD P. EMERSON is on the staff of the University of Tennessee.

Letters to the Editors

An Amazing Dictum

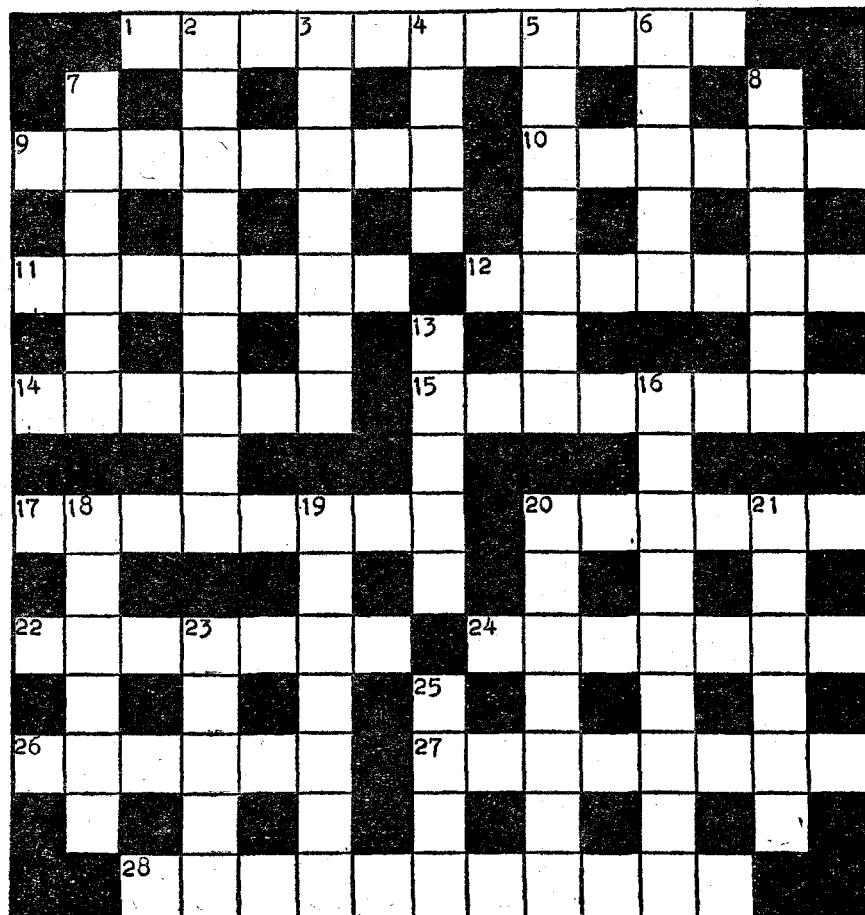
Dear Sirs: Democracy may well pray to be spared from its friends if they persist in following the line laid down by the Reverend L. M. Birkhead of the Friends of Democracy. In his letter in your issue of April 2 he repeats his amazing dictum that "by definition, a Communist-Fronter is one who denies being associated with the Communist political or propaganda movement!" Perhaps the fact that he ends the sentence with an exclamation mark is a subtle way of indicating that he is being playful. But he wasn't playing when he tried to pin the Communist-fronter label on Dr. Guy Emery Shieler, editor of the *Churchman*, in order to frighten away people from attending the *Churchman* dinner at which Bishop Oxnam received an award "for his understanding defense of our democratic freedoms" and for working "tirelessly for establishing the reign of God on earth."

It may be that the award was couched in "Aesopian language" and that Bishop Oxnam and Dr. Shieler and the other distinguished churchmen and laymen who were at the dinner were making Communist political propaganda by urging democratic freedoms and the reign of God on earth. But it would take a better man than this writer to trace the Marxist-Leninist line in any of the speeches delivered at the dinner. It is true that Dr. Shieler did have some caustic things to say about the new united front of the *Brooklyn Tablet*, the *New York World-Telegram*, the *Hearst papers*, *Counterattack*, and the *Friends of Democracy*. I noticed, however, that the morning after the dinner St. Patrick's Cathedral and the Stock Exchange were still standing.

I have known Guy Emery Shieler for the last twenty years and have been a frequent contributor to his lively paper. Liberals have joined a number of organizations in which I wouldn't be seen dead—come to think of it, as a life-long Socialist that's probably the way I would be seen—but I figure that Dr. Shieler is a grown man with a right to choose his associates, even if they are not acceptable to the Reverend Birkhead and that profound Marxist student, the Attorney General of the United States, the Honorable Tom Clark of li'l old Texas. "Lynching by label," as Bishop Oxnam characterized the attempted smear of

Crossword Puzzle No. 312

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 There, you've gone about as far as you can go! (6, 5)
- 9 Hero's invocation to a friend? It's poisonous! (8)
- 10 Heavenly phrase. (6)
- 11 In one sense, Tom returns with a topper! (7)
- 12 Features aren't shown when things are? (7)
- 14 In Lee's old age, he was. (6)
- 15 Usually right on your map! (4, 4)
- 17 On the rocks, if one goes into this ship. (8)
- 20 Afflictions of those at the bar? (6)
- 22 Hydrocyanic. (7)
- 24 Opposite where you might place one foot after another? (7)
- 26 Alight to the French form of 23. (6)
- 27 Pan's pipe should qualify as one. (8)
- 28 Only the brave would go here at night? (6, 5)

DOWN

- 2 Not the smartest one, in any case! (9)
- 3 Take part in dueling. (7)
- 4 A fairy is most immaterial! (4)
- 5 Has enough to beat a pair of nines, and doesn't delay in doing it! (7)
- 6 Doone of Blackmore. (5)
- 7 Seem good to be asleep? (6)

- 8 Jam, as many things do under pressure? (6)
- 13 A historian, on the face of things. (5)
- 16 The parlor referred to by a spinner of tales for children. (9)
- 18 A pearl in one's lobe. (6)
- 19 Uprising after seven to state a Russian claim? (7)
- 20 Fence? This certainly wouldn't protect you against attack! (7)
- 21 The first bearer of unwelcome news has such an office, according to Shakespeare. (6)
- 23 Battle-wagon? (5)
- 25 Pen or cob, as the case may be. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 311

ACROSS:—1 ANCHORED; 5 GIBBET; 10 HASTE; 11 CHECKMATE; 12 RIOT ACT; 13 EYELETS; 14 CARETS; 15 ALLEGER; 18 MAYTIME; 21 BECKON; 24 INCLINE; 26 IMPUGNS; 27 INDULGENT; 28 EXTRA; 29 NUDIST; 30 BEDSTEAD.

DOWN:—1 ASHORE; 2 CUSTOMARY; 3 OVERAWE; 4 EXCITES; 6 INKWELL; 7 BRAKE; 8 and 23 TREASURE ISLAND; 9 GENEVA; 16 GEORGETTE; 17 AMBITION; 19 ICICLES; 20 ELEVEN; 21 BRISTLE; 22 COPPERS; 25 CODED.

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Shipler, who has time and again proved his devotion to free democratic processes, is no proper activity for any real friend of democracy.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

New York, April 26

British Summer Schools

Dear Sirs: A splendid opportunity for American visitors to Britain is offered by the summer schools arranged by the Fabian Society and the Labor Party.

The Fabian Society is scheduling five summer schools, covering the five weeks from July 23 to August 27 inclusive. These are held at a large house in the country, and are attended by a hundred students of all ages. In addition to lectures and discussions, outdoor recreation and evening entertainment is arranged. Rates are about \$28 a week, and reservations may be made for one or more weeks. Write Andrew Filson, the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S. W. 1.

The Labor Party is scheduling seven schools, for the weeks June 11 to 25, July 2 to 16, and August 27 to September 17 inclusive. The first two schools are at a seaside resort, the second two in the cathedral city of Durham, and the final three in a country house. The courses offered relate to preparations for the general election expected next year. Rates are about \$21 per week, and reservations may be made for one or more weeks. Write Morgan Phillips, the Labor Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1.

DAVID C. WILLIAMS

London, April 30

Bibliographical Department

Dear Sirs: I am compiling a bibliography of Franklin D. Roosevelt which will be completed shortly. I shall appreciate it very much if any of your readers who possess unusual books and pamphlets bearing on Mr. Roosevelt's life and career will communicate with me. Of special interest to me are his campaign speeches issued in pamphlet or leaflet form by the Democratic National Committee during the 1920 Cox campaign, the 1928 Al Smith campaign, and his own four Presidential campaigns; also any addresses by or about Mr. Roosevelt when he was campaigning for governor of New York in 1928 and 1930.

My address is 4957 North Wolcott Avenue, Chicago 40. E. J. HALTER
Chicago, April 23

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